

ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

NINETEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

 MONG the pictures which I have bought for my father in *Italy*, said the young nobleman, (as he was walking in the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, with his beloved *English* friends on *Monday, June 15*) I have not yet had the good fortune to procure above two or three small landskips. I am thinking to supply this deficiency by desiring our ingenious friend the *Irish* painter to employ part of this summer in drawing some views of the romantic environs of *Frescati, Albano, Tivoli, and Nemi*.

IN speaking these words the young nobleman felt at his heart a pleasure, which no profusion of expence in mere *vertù* ever afforded.

THE case was this. Besides the thoughts of pleasing his father by such a present, he had another *good* motive to this design. The last time he had seen the *Irish* painter he had observed that he looked very pale and faint; the heats of *Rome* having, in his present weak state of convalescency, almost overcome him. The worthy noble youth imagined that some cool country air would be the best kind of medicinal cordial for such an indisposition. With this purpose he contrived the commission for the landskips; and that very afternoon intended sending his *Roman valet de place* to hire some proper lodgings for the young *Irishman* at *Gensano*, a remarkably pleasant village (antiently called *Cynthianum*) near the lake of *Nemi*, about sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. It was proposed that the painter should stay there about three weeks or a month, and then remove for about the same space of time to *Albano*. He was to leave *Albano* about the latter end of *August*, and to pass the whole months of *September* and *October* at *Frescati* and *Tivoli*, those country towns being very wholesome in the autumn; at which season *Gensano* becomes usually damp and aguish.

IN talking further on this subject, *Crito* (who was made quite happy with this fresh instance of the young nobleman's benevolence) desired to accompany, that was his humble expression, the *Roman valet de place* to *Gensano*.



YOUR

YOUR servant, said he, shall come back to you to-morrow morning with some news relative to the lodgings : but I must desire you not to expect me 'till *Friday* next. I should be very glad to make (according to the *Italian* expression) a *retreat* in that charming village for two or three days. The present sultriness of the weather, joined to the ideas suggested by *these* beautiful land-skips, makes me long for some quiet country retirement*.

IN such weather as this, replied *Crito's* pupil, even an hermit's grove or cavern would not be a disagreeable habitation.

*O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi
Sistat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbra ?*

THE young nobleman observed that there is something peculiarly pleasing, during the heats of summer, in the ornaments of this church. These fine marble columns, intermingled with the verdant shades of this silvan scenery, breath a very

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* The walls of the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti* are covered with noble land-skips, the works of *Poussin* and other celebrated masters.

In these large rural paintings the histories of some hermits are introduced ; but those human figures bear so small a proportion to the size of the trees, rocks, lakes, and streams, that on entering the church it seems to be furnished with mere representations only of rural nature, and of its vegetable or animal productions.

refreshing coolness. Does not the whole structure seem to be designed as a kind of rich *rural* temple?

IN some respects, *Crito* replied after some pause, this fabric may be considered as a temple peculiarly adapted to solemn meditations on *natural* religion. These rural representations are indeed uncommon, but in some degree they seem to be not unsuitable ornaments for a place dedicated to the adoration of the Great CREATOR.

PROPER paintings certainly, as well as proper musick, may sometimes have very great and good effects on a tender devout mind: but the effects will be still greater and better, where painting and musick can both operate together. — How happy should we be to hear the *Benedicite Domino omnia opera ejus*, or the 103^d psalm, now chaunted to the organ in this church?

*Ascendunt montes, & descendunt campi,
In locum; quem fundasti eis. —
Quàm magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine!
Omnia in sapientiâ fecisti.*

DURING the chaunt of those hymns, you, my dear pupil, would often turn your eyes to the beautiful and majestic works of the creation, which are represented on these walls.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS for some moments you would imagine yourself with *Adam* in his terrestrial Paradise.

*About me round I saw
Hills, dales, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams. —
Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods and plains,
Tell me how I may know him, how adore,
From whom I have that thus I move and live. —*

THE young nobleman now fixed his eyes in silence for some moments on one of *Poussin's* land-skips : he then turned round towards the altar ; and (the church being at that time totally empty of all other company) he sung in a low but manly voice, a favourite air from *Metastasio's* *Passion Oratorio*.

*Dovunque il guardo giro,
Immenso Dio, ti vedo.
Nell' opre tue t'ammiro,
Ti riconosco in me.*

*La terra, il mar, le sfere,
Parlan del tuo potere :
Tu sei per tutto ; E noi
Tutti viviamo in te.*

* * *

THE company now retired from the church, and walked to their lodgings.

ON the way *Crito* renewed his request to his pupil, and to the other young gentlemen, that they would permit him to make an excursion to *Gensano*.

THEY all knew how much he sometimes enjoyed his studies in a rural solitude, and therefore gladly consented to his proposal.

HOWEVER, said the young nobleman, we will not suffer the charms of the country to keep you too long from us. We will come and make you a visit at *Gensano* on *Friday* morning. We will bring our landscape-painter in the coach with us, and take you back.

EVERY thing being thus settled, *Crito* went out of town immediately after dinner : he went in his pupil's chaise, and arrived at *Gensano* before it was quite dark.

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As soon as he was gone, the young nobleman proposed to his two friends, that, in respect to *Crito*, (and indeed in consequence of an hint which he dropt to-day at table) they should, during

ring his absence, prepare themselves for his next lectures, by studying separately the history of *Augustus's* reign.

YOU, dear sir, said he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, will be able to employ two or three days very agreeably in the contemplation of the *sciences*, as well as of the *belles lettres*, which flourished here in that peaceful age.

YOU, my worthy patriotic friend, will have business enough in unravelling the *civil* government of the first *Roman* emperor, and the great *political* events and consequences of his reign.

THE more trifling amusement, that of the consideration of the *fine arts*, which then adorned *Rome*, will fall to my share.

ON *Thursday*, if you please, we will meet at breakfast, and confer notes,

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ON *Thursday* morning very early (for the heat of the *Roman* climate naturally inclines most persons to early rising) *Crito's* pupil was visited by his two friends.

WHILE they were drinking a dish of chocolate together, he asked them several questions relative to the politics and *vertù* of *Augustus's* court. He received from their answers much instruction and pleasure.

WHEN the chocolate was removed, the young nobleman took up an *Horace*, which lay on the settee; and addressing himself to *Crito's* pupil, I could wish, said he, that some properly qualified *English* traveller would, during his making the tour of *Italy*, amuse himself with executing that design, which I remember to have heard you propose.

I MEAN, the collection of proper materials for a new edition of *Horace's Odes*, accompanied with a traveller's notes. Several illustrations might doubtless be with much ease and pleasure collected from a view of the face of this country, from an experience of its climate, and an observation of the customs and manners of its inhabitants: illustrations, never perhaps to be expected from the labour or genius of any of our *tramontane literati*, who have not had the happiness of seeing these southern parts of *Europe*.

I HAVE been thinking that such an edition might be very properly adorned; not only (as you proposed) with some neatly engraved maps of the

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Campagna di Roma, and other parts of modern *Italy*; but also with some small landskips, placed as head or tail-pieces to several of the Odes.

LET me give one instance only of what I mean. The Odes which are descriptive of the environs of *Tibur* might be very pleasingly illuminated by some views in miniature of the real country near *Tivoli*, and the present remains of *Mæcenas's* stately villa there.

I AM sure, when we were at *Tivoli*, viewing its thick woods of olives, the romantic figure of its hills, and the several beautiful streams which descend in picturesque cascades down their sides, through those fields, which once were covered with the pompous gardens of *Mæcenas* or *Plancus*; we could not help recollecting several expressions in *Horace*, which seemed very apposite, such as

— *præceps Anio & Tiburni lucus, & uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.*

THE young nobleman now opened the *Horace*, and read to the company several stanza's in two or three different Odes: he finished with some lines of the xviith Ode in the first book.

Velox

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem

Mutat Lyceo Faunus —

— fistulâ

Valles, & Ustica cubantis

Lævia personuere saxa.

It would have been fortunate, said *Crito's* pupil, if when we were at *Tivoli* we had thought of extending our excursion to the *Ustican* valley. *Horace's* small, but elegant farm-house, was most probably situate among the *Sabine* mountains, about ten miles above *Tivoli*. His river *Digentia* is, as I have heard, now called the *Licenza*; and his neighbouring market-towns, *Mandela* and *Varia*, known by the half-corrupted names of *Bardela* and *Vico Varo*. What pleasure would it have afforded us, if we could with any degree of probability, have traced out the spot of his *ferme ornée*?

HORACE, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, though he kept the highest company, yet loved a middle station in life, and knew its value. This seems to you (I am sure) to have been one of the most amiable features in his character.

By the joint favour of the prince and minister, *Horace* doubtless might have accumulated a much larger fortune, and risen to some very considerable office

office in publick life : but he had viewed things with too piercing an eye.

*Cur valle permutem Sabinâ
Divitias operosiores ?*

I REMEMBER your good tutor making some excellent reflections on this subject some years ago, before we left *England*. It was on that day, when we went to see the poor *porch-house* at *Chertsey*, which was in the last century the humble scene of *Cowley's* retirement.

AMONG other observations, I remember he then took notice, that, though *Horace* was far inferior to *Cowley* in his general moral character, (as far inferior in that, as he was superior in respect of his poetic abilities) yet still their turns of mind were in some respects very similar ; the *language of their hearts* was on some topicks almost equally amiable.

YOUR good tutor then dwelt with pleasure on the moderation, and other amiable qualities of *Horace* : how much soever, said he, we ought to abhor his vices, yet surely we ought to express due respect to these his virtues.

SUCH were at that time some of your good tutor's sentiments, But *à propos* ; our noble young friend

friend would be glad if you would go with us this morning to see the place of *Mæcenas's* gardens; those gardens we mean, which belonged to his *house in town*, and to which *Augustus* frequently loved to retire, whenever a fit of sickness prevented him continuing his application to publick business.

I SHALL be very glad of the pleasure of attending you thither, replied *Crito's* pupil. For, if I am not mistaken, *Virgil's* house was built close adjoining to those gardens of *Mæcenas*.

CRITO's pupil now rose from his chair and took from the shelf in his closet the first volume of *Dodsley's* miscellany poems: he turned to the *ruins of Rome*, written by the author of *Grongar-hill*, and read to his friends the following lines.

*Suffice it now th' Esquilian mount to reach
With weary wing; and seek the sacred rests
Of Virgil's humble tenement: a low
Plain wall remains; a little sun-gilt heap
Grotesque and wild: the gourd and olive brown
Weave the light roof; the gourd and olive fan
Their am'rous foliage, mingling with the vine,
Who drops her purple clusters thro' the green.—
Here oft the meek good man, the lofty bard
Fram'd the celestial song; or social walk'd
With Horace and the ruler of the world.
Happy Augustus! —*

BUT

BUT let me not trouble you with any more of these lines. Your coach is at the door. I wish your *Roman* servant (he is a tolerable antiquarian) may be able to conduct us to that spot of *Virgil's* tenement.

* * *

WHILE the company were in the coach, their conversation dwelt on the characters of the two great poets of the *Augustan* age: *Crito's* pupil remarked with visible pleasure, that *Virgil* was at least as remarkable as *Horace* for the love of philosophy, poetry, and rural life.

WHEN they came to the *Esquiline* hill they found themselves much puzzled as to the situation of *Mæcenæ's* gardens. *Montfaucon*, with many other antiquarians, places those gardens between the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, and the *Aggere Tarquinio*: *Abate Venuti*, perhaps with more probability, thinks they were situate near the church of *St. Pietro ad Vincula*, on the spot which was afterwards in great part covered with the vast fabric of *Titus's* baths.

IF we cannot with any certitude, said *Crito's* pupil, fix on the situation of *Mæcenæ's* gardens, I am afraid we stand much less chance of being able to discover the place of *Virgil's* house. Yet
certainly

certainly there is some tradition kept up at *Rome* in relation to it. I think I remember our seeing in a manuscript at the *Collegio Romano* some account of *an altar to the Muses*, which was dug up from among its ruins.

It would be some satisfaction, said the young nobleman, if we knew in what musæum that altar was preserved. We would willingly attend you this morning to the furthest part of *Rome*, on purpose that *you* might have the pleasure of seeing it. You would, I am sure, *in imagination*, pour some libations on it.

BUT as we are totally ignorant what is become of that altar to the muses, let us in some manner supply the deficiency by making a visit this morning to the ruins of the temple of the *Palatin Apollo*. We are not at present far distant from them; and it is as yet very early in the day.

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IN the large and romantic gardens of the *English* college, on the southern summit of the *Palatine* hill, stands a group of *stately* ruins intermingled with several small groves of tall cypresses. It is by far the greatest work of antiquity which is now to be seen on any part of that hill.

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ACCORDING to the common tradition, these are the remains of the famous *temple* and *library* of the *Palatine Apollo*. *Marliano* confirms this tradition. But other antiquarians are of opinion, that they seem rather to be the ruins of that *Hemicycleium*, in which were performed the musical games in honour of the same poetic deity.

THE young reader of these papers, whose lively imagination is frequently enraptur'd with poetic enthusiasm, whose genius breathes fire, such a reader is desired to think what would be his ideas, while ascending to the seat of the *Palatine Apollo*.

LET him imagine, that the ideas of his three young countrymen were of a nature somewhat similar.

THEY ascended the hill, and for some time continued to indulge their thoughts in all the luxuriance of poetic fancy. They would however have been soon satiated with this delicious entertainment, even with this nectar and ambrosia, if *Crito's* pupil had not kept up their appetite by taking out his pocket *Virgil*, and reading to them for about half an hour some of their favourite passages.

THE passages, with which he concluded, were the descriptions of the temples of *Apollo* at *Cuma*
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and *Delos*, in the sixth and third book of the *Æneid*. He closed the volume as soon as he had read the following verses :

— tremere omnia visa repente
Liminaque laurusque Dei, totusque moveri
Mons circum, & mugire adytis cortina reclusis.

HE closed the book ; he suddenly rose from the mossy bricks on which he was sitting ; he took two or three short turns by himself in the cypress walk, sometimes looking up in silent contemplation to the ruins of the adjoining temple and *Hemicyclium*, the tops of which appeared to peculiar advantage among the waving heads of the cypresses ; sometimes looking down into the vast vaults and subterranean arches ; which, where the ground has given way, discover themselves to a great depth.

Is it not very probable, said he, turning to his companion, that *Milton*, during his stay at *Rome*, frequently ascended this hill ?

PERHAPS he composed part of his *Penseroso* here. — O that I could now in his stile invoke the *unseen genius* of this place to *breathe* to us some *sweet music*.

Above, around, or underneath !

But

But no genius of this cypress grove will deign to listen to *my* invocation; no sound of the harp of *Apollo* will answer me from any of the deep recesses of these ruins.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen benevolently smiled at this poetic enthusiasm. I think, said he, my dear friend, you are as much affected with the memory of *Virgil* here, as you were last autumn, when we were rowing in a boat around the lake of *Mantua*, and down the river *Mincio* *. You will long remember that delightful voyage.

—— *Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, & glaucâ prætexit arundine ripas.*

I WISH, said the young nobleman, that we were at present in such a cool situation. The heat of the sun, reflected from these ruins, begins to grow intolerable. I am unwilling to quit this temple; but suppose we were to adjourn for the remainder of this morning across the *Tiber* to some of the shady apartments in the *Vatican* palace. They are the coolest places, which we can find in *Rome*: besides, if I am not mistaken, we shall see in them some things relative to the subject of our present conversation.

VOL. II.

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* *A deux milles de Mantoue est le village d'Andes, patrie de Virgile: on le nomme aujourd'hui Pietola. Les Ducs de Mantoue y avoient fait bâtir la Virgiliana: belle maison de plaisance; qui a été détruite dans la guerre de 1701. Voyage de RICHARD.*

THE young gentlemen agreed to this proposal : they walked down the hill to the coach ; and getting into it, told the coachman to drive to the *Vatican*.

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IN about half an hour they arrived there. The first room they entered was the library. The young nobleman led them immediately to that painting which represents *Virgil* and *Horace* in conversation with *Augustus* *.

HE then turned round to the librarian, and desired to be favoured with the sight of the famous manuscript of *Virgil*.

THIS manuscript is supposed to have been written in the fourth or fifth century. The young gentlemen passed some time very agreeably in examining its characters, and historical pictures :
but

* See Abbé RICHARD'S Description of the ornaments of the *Vatican Library*. *A gauche on a donné dans differens tableaux une idée des plus anciennes collections des livres. — Le sixieme represente Ptolomée Philadelphie accompagné de Demetrius Phalere, son Bibliothecaire, & d' Arifée, qui arrangent la fameuse Bibliotheque d' Alexandrie. Dans le septieme on voit Auguste entre Virgile & Horace se promenant dans la bibliotheque, qu'il avoit formée sur le Mont Palatin, où il avoit fait placer la statue de Varron.* Tom. v. p. 386.

Questa pittura e d'una mano imitratice del Baroccio l'iscrizione dice. Augustus Cæsar, Palatinâ Bibliothecâ magnificè ornatâ, viros literarios fovet. TAJA Descrittione del Palazzo Vaticano.

but they thought *Bartoli* had done more than ample justice to them in his copper-plates.

FROM the *Vatican* library the company went up stairs into the open galleries, called the *Bible of Raphael*; and from thence proceeded to the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

THAT apartment is as it were a noble temple dedicated to the *principal* sciences, of which the human mind is capable; theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and poetry. The cieling is adorned with four figures representing these four sciences: under each of which the walls are entirely covered with large pictures correspondent to the same subjects; all by the hand of *Raphael*. The first on entering the room is that sweet introduction to all sciences, mount *Parnassus*.

IN this picture, after some search, they found the beautiful, though retired, figure of *Virgil*, close by the *Muses*, on the summit of the mount; followed by the principal poets of modern *Italy*; but himself modestly giving place to the majestic *Homer*, to whose song *Clio* is listening, and *Apollo* himself attuning his lyre.

IT is remarkable, that *Raphael* (who, by the flowery *Italian* historians, is said to have lived among all the arts and sciences on mount *Parnas-*

sus) has here represented *his own* figure closely attendant on that of *Virgil*. This circumstance was the occasion, that the conversation now turned on the similitude and (to use *Plutarch's* phrase) the *parallelism* of these two great characters in the *sister* arts.

THE young nobleman took this opportunity to inform the company, that he had been lately favoured with a copy of a life of *Raphael*; drawn up by an *English* gentleman *, resident at *Rome*; a gentleman from whom himself and all the company had received continual obligations since their arrival here; and who, as they very well knew, was fully a master of that noble subject. It is needless to add, that they were very desirous to hear it, and the young nobleman as willing to read it to them. They sat down near the great picture of the schools of *Athens*, and gave their most willing attention to the following paper.

RAPHAEL D'URBIN.

THERE is scarce a more pleasing and noble object (especially to all real philanthropists) than to see a person come into the world blessed with a favourable disposition and genius by nature, and

* Mr. Jenkins.

and to find also every circumstance of his life concur for the bringing to perfection what she has so kindly given *.

RAPHAEL d'URBINO seems to have been as strong an example of this felicity, as is to be met with in the history of any age or nation. He was doubtless born with a most uncommon genius; but was also at least equally fortunate in the first and principal blessing in life, that is, in having the best of fathers: a father, who was most deeply convinced that the prosperity of his son totally depended on his good education, and who gave the most constant attention worthily to execute that great work of a parent's life. For this purpose we see him beginning his care of his child

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* Περὶ δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν. Καθόλου μὲν εἶπεν ὁ κατὰ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν λέγειν ἐκείνους, ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πατέρας εἶναι· ὡς εἰς τὴν πάντων δικαιοπραγίαν τρία δὲ συνδραμεῖν, φύσιν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἐθῶς· καλῶ δὲ λόγον μὲν τὴν μάθησιν, ἐθῶς δὲ τὴν ἀσκήσιν· εἰσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαί, τῆς μάθησως, αἱ δὲ χρήσεις, τῆς μελέτης· αἱ δὲ ἀκροΐτες, πάντων· καθ' ὅ δ' ἂν λειψῇ τι τούτων, κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην χῶλιν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἀνεν μάθησως, τυφλόν· ἡ δὲ μάθησις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλειπὲς· ἡ δὲ ἀσκήσις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν, ἀτελής. Ὡς περὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γεωργίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγαθὴν δεῖ ὑπαρῆαι τὴν γῆν, εἰτα δὲ φυτῶν ἐπισήμονα, εἰτα τὰ σπέρματα σπένδαι· (eadem similitudo in Evangelio) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γὰρ μετ' εὐχὴν καὶ φύσιν, γεωργῶ δὲ ὁ παιδεύων, σπέρματι δὲ αἱ τῶν λόγων ὑποδικαί καὶ τὰ παραγγέλματα — Εὐδαιμών μὲν γὰρ καὶ θεοφιλὴς εἶναι ταῦτα πάντα δεῖται τις ἀπεδῶκιν.

PLUTARCHI de Liberis educandis, c. 2.

even from the first day of his birth, having a regard to the breast that was to nourish him, which he took care to be that of his most tender and loving mother ; a woman of the most gentle disposition. Afterwards, during the first years of his son's life, he carefully took all opportunities gradually to instruct him in every thing of which so tender an age was capable ; and, in particular, paid the utmost regard to the customs and dispositions of those children, with whom his beloved boy made any acquaintance. During this time, young *Raphael* gave every day fresh marks of the sweetest, most amiable temper ; joined to which, appeared (completely to bless his good parents) a natural inclination for the study of painting, (which art was the profession of his father) and sufficient proofs of a great genius for it. It was on this motive that his modest parent, being convinced of his own inabilities to render him such assistance as was necessary, made application to *Pietro Perugino*, the most esteemed painter of that age, and had the good fortune to prevail on him to take this young scholar under his care.

THE amiableness of *Raphael's* temper, and his promising abilities as an artist, soon gained him the affection of *Pietro Perugino* ; whose instructions he received with so much attention, that in a very short time he imitated his manner so well, that it could with great difficulty be distinguished which
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was the master. The stile or manner of *Pietro Perugino* was the most diligent imitation of nature; mixed indeed with the stiffness of the preceeding ages: but to this was added a degree of gracefulness, which was to *Raphael* of the greatest importance, as it gave an opening to that part of his genius. Thus we find him, yet in the early part of his life, to have advanced in his profession by the most sure and solid principles of industry; which, even to *Raphael* himself, was necessary to enable him to attain afterwards with facility the remaining requisites of his art.

HAVING now acquired all the advantage that he could hope for from *Perugino*, and hearing of the fame of *Michael Angelo*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*, he resolved to take a journey to *Florence*, to see and study the works of those great men.

IN *Michael Angelo* he saw a greatness of stile, that was totally opposite to the dryness of *Perugino*; and in *Leonardo da Vinci* a roundness and force of light and shadow, never before produced, at least since the revival of the arts. Being sensible of the excellencies of these two great masters, and knowing how necessary it was for him to profit by them, he laid aside every other consideration, and determined to give his whole attention to these objects; to which he accordingly applied with all possible diligence.

DURING this time, (as if fortune as well as nature had determined *every thing* for the perfection of this their favourite) *Raphael* made an acquaintance, which soon grew into a strict friendship, with *Fra. Bartholomeo di San Marco*. *Bartholomeo* possessed the only branch of painting, in which *Raphael* seemed to want any instructions, viz. That of a perfect knowledge of the quality and application of colours. But here let us pause a little and consider, how wonderful an example is this great man of that truth, that the finest genius cannot arrive at its full glory, without very industrious study, and also without the help of other men.

HAD it not been for the well founded principles of diligence, which *Raphael* received from *Pietro Perugino*, it is not impossible but the over-charged out-line of *Michael Angelo* might have misled him to a false stile of greatness : and the amiable strength of light and shadow of *Leonardo da Vinci*, which had not the truth of colouring with it, might have been equally dangerous for him ; if this had not been most effectually prevented by the fortunate friendship of *Fra. Bartholomeo*.

WHAT a pleasure is it to see such a series of fortunate events unite, at a time when probably the greatest genius, that ever was, had the utmost occasion for every one of them ? For it was now
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that a most favourable occasion offered itself of disclosing to the world in full splendor, all the strength of his talents. The surprizing genius and accomplishments of this wonderful young man; then about twenty-four years of age, having reached the ears of Pope *Julius* the second, a great lover of the finest arts, he sent for him, and assigned him immediate employment in the *Vatican*. *Raphael* was now at the crisis of his fortune; and the success of his first performance was so great, that the Pope immediately discharged all the other painters, though some of the best artists of the time, who were employed in adorning that most famous and sumptuous palace; excepting only *Michael Angelo*, who was then in the principal chapel carrying on the great work of his picture of the Last Judgment. The Pope ordered also, that what these painters had already done, might be defaced, to make room for the works of *Raphael*; an order which this generous man opposed to the uttermost of his power; nay, even contrary to it, he caused some of the best of their works to remain; saying, it was but just that the world should see how much he had been beholden to those great men who went before him.

GIVE me leave, my dear friends, in reading this paper of Mr. *Jenkins*, to pause one moment to observe, that some of the figures on this very cieling are the works of *Pietro Perugino*, thus gratefully preserved

preserved by his dear pupil ; and the two figures in the corner of this great and capital picture of the schools of *Athens* (under which you are now sitting) are one of them the representation of *Raphael* himself, and the other (which is here, by *Raphael*, made the *superior* figure) that of his ever honoured master *Pietro Perugino*. But to proceed——

DURING the course of these his works in the *Vatican*, Pope *Julius* the second died. But, as if nothing was to stop the current of *Raphael's* greatness, *Leo* the tenth succeeded to the chair : a prince whose magnificent disposition led him to the patronage of the great men in all arts and sciences. He not only employed *Raphael* as a painter ; but, as he was likewise an able architect, gave him the direction of all his superb buildings, particularly of the stupendous fabrick of *St. Peter's*.

AT the same time *Raphael's* favour was solicited by all the great persons of *Europe*, who even *prayed* to be made happy with something from his excellent hand. Among those was *Francis* the first, then king of *France* ; the father of his country, the patron of learning, the protector of all arts and sciences, in whose arms *Leonardo da Vinci* had died.

ALL these honours, which to a man of an inferior disposition, might have produced pride or self-sufficiency, in *Raphael* had quite a contrary effect. As he grew in reputation, we find him increase in affability and goodness to all around him ; for such was the uncommon influence of his amiable temper, that all his disciples (who were very numerous, and every one anxious for his own advancement) lived under his care in the most perfect harmony with each other : and so great was his generosity, that he was constantly ready to part even with the whole of his fortune to relieve the indigent and miserable. He was indeed a friend and a father to all, whosoever wanted his assistance, at any time, or on any occasion.

THE happy disposition of the mind of this great man, is apparently visible in all his works ; for as no one had ever a clearer conception for the composition of them, nor a warmer heart to give that truth of expression to each character ; so also he always followed the dictates of his heart, by chusing his subject at that point of time, which admitted of the execution of the *most noble and amiable* passions : for it is scarce possible to behold any one passion expressed by him, but the mind must be most sensibly affected by it ; and the passions, which he was constantly most fond of expressing, were those of the highest degrees of the

the warmest, most overflowing benevolence of heart, and of the most exalted, the most devoted piety : thus presenting to the view of all succeeding ages, the most moving lessons of the two great principles of our duty to GOD and man, in a manner not at all inferior, either in force or dignity, to that of the greatest historians, orators, or poets.

HAPPY would it have been if he had been equally great in the third great branch of moral duties, that of self-government or temperance ! For as it would be endless to recount every particular of the excellence of *Raphael*, (and may these great and good parts of his character be not in vain presented to our view for our instruction and benefit !) so it is likewise necessary to own his failings ; in order the better to enable us to guard against them. Let us never forget, that in the noblest fabric, one principal part being defective, how easily the whole may be ruined.

IT is impossible to be acquainted with such a character as *Raphael*, without conceiving the greatest affection and veneration for it : how melancholy a reflection then is it, but at the same time how *useful a lesson to us*, to think that so much worth should be lost to the world by an imprudent pursuit of pleasure ? Such was the case with *Raphael* ; he was cut off by it, when in the
flower

flower of his years, in the fullest strength of his abilities, in the height of his glory. Nor had he that consolation, which many young men, dying at his years, have had; that his end was noble, and therefore impossible to be premature.

IF he who writes this sheds a tear for such an end of such a man, how much more reason to do so had those, who had been happy in his acquaintance and friendship? They indeed were with reason inconsolable. He was attended to his grave by all those of his profession then in *Rome*, who all regarded his loss as that of the most indulgent parent, the kindest master, and the most sincere friend. Nor was the great croud of spectators less moved, when his body was (according to the custom of his country) exposed to view in the same place where his picture of the transfiguration, his last and greatest work, then stood.

* * *

AFTER you have been entertained, said *Crito's* pupil, with such a composition as this, I know not how to venture to trouble you with any of my reflections.

IN attending to it, I could not however help frequently observing, the many similar traces in
this

this character and in that of *Virgil*. Both were blessed with great natural talents ; in the improvement and perfection of which, both proceeded on the same *sure and solid foundations of the greatest industry*. Both aimed at the utmost correctness as well as spirit in their works. Both gave their attention with all possible diligence to the study of the works of the great men who had preceeded them. Both made themselves acquainted with many other sciences *, besides that which was their principal profession.

EACH of them came to *Rome* (for neither of these great *Italians* were natives of this city) when a patron of all arts and sciences was on the throne ; each was highly favoured here by the sovereign, and by all the principal men of the state. They were indeed the two chief glories of the two *Augustan* ages of *Rome*.

THEY were equally remarkable in bearing all their great honours with still greater modesty, affability, and goodness to all around them. Each
was

* *Virgilius omni curâ omnique studio se medicinæ & mathematicæ tradidit ; quibus rebus cum ante alios eruditior peritiorque factus esset se in urbem contulit, statimque Augusto conciliatus, &c.* With what honour and love does *Virgil* speak of the first of these his studies in the character of *Iapis* ? How strongly also is his affection for the study of *natural philosophy* expressed throughout the whole *Georgics*, particularly towards the conclusion of the second book ? — *Me vero primum, &c.*

was in particular a kind patron and cordial friend to the other poets and painters of his time ; each was consequently beloved by all the contemporaries of his profession, though full of rivalry and envy among themselves. Both took all opportunities in their works of shewing their respect and gratitude * to their patrons. Both indeed frequently shewed the goodness of their hearts (goodness equal perhaps even to their great abilities of mind) in many parts of their compositions ; and both, in this last, (as well as in so many other respects) may be attentively studied to the greatest advantage.

* * *

FROM the *Vatican* palace, the company returned to their lodgings to dinner.

AFTER dinner the young nobleman very agreeably amused himself for an hour or two with Mr. Spence's *Polymetis*. His attention was first given to its sixteenth dialogue, which bears particular reference to some of the pictures in the *Vatican* manuscript of *Virgil*. He afterwards turned to the

* *Bucolica scripta sunt in honorem Pollionis, Varii, Galli ; quia in distributione agrorum indemnem se præstiterunt. Georgica edidit in honorem Mæcenatis. Æneidem autem aggressus est, ut Romanæ simul urbis & Augusti originem celebraret.*

the fifth dialogue ; the subject of which is the introduction, improvement, and fall of the arts of *Rome*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen laboured without intermission, from dinner time 'till it was dark, in the study of those two long speeches of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s, which fill the fifty-second book of *Dion Cassius*.

CRITO's pupil employed the afternoon in the re-perusal of that treatise of *Plutarch*, which is entitled, Πως δει τον νεον ποιημάτων ακχειν.

SEVERAL passages in that treatise much moved him. Ουτε γαρ πολιν αι κεκλεισμεναι πυλαι τηρουν αναλωτον, αν δια μιας παραδεχεται της πολεμικης· οτε νεον αι περι τας αλλας ηδονας εγγρατειαι ζωζουσιν, αν γε δια μιας λαδη προειμεν αυτον. In reading this period he could not avoid thinking of the fatal failing which ruined *Raphael*.

NOR was he inattentive of some other observations of *Plutarch*. Τοις απο ζκνης λεγομενοις, η προς λυραν αδομενοις, η μελετωμενοις εν διδασκαλειω, ενιστε ομολογει τα Πυθαγορη δογματα η Πλατων — διο, η τυτων ενεκα, η των προειρημενων απαντων, αγαθης δει τω νεω κυβερνησεως περι την αναγνωσιν, ινα μη προσδιαβληθεις, αλλα μαλλον προπαιδευθεις, ευμενης η φιλ η οικει υπο

ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ

ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΥ ΠΡΟΠΕΜΠΗΤΑΙ — ἡ ΜΟΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΝ-
ΔΡΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ. In perusing
these passages he wished, that in modern places of
education such care was observed, in relation to
the study of *Virgil*, and other *Latin* poets, as
Plutarch prescribes for the study of the *Greek* poets,
particularly *Homer*.

It was now about two and twenty o'clock.
As *Crito's* pupil seldom had occasion to continue
his studies so long as to *fatigue* his mind, he
gladly closed the volume of *Plutarch*, and indul-
ged the poetic meditations (to which his imagi-
nation was at present very propense) during a long
solitary walk to the church of *St. Onofrio*.

UNDER a flat stone in the pavement of that
church lies the dust of *Tasso*: *Crito's* pupil read its
short inscription; in reading it, he dropt the nose-
gay of roses, which he had in his hand, on the
stone; and left it there.

Da sacro cineri flores. —

He returned to his lodgings from this long walk
sometime after sun-set. During the following hour
or two he amused himself with reading several fa-
vourite passages in the *Georgics* and *Bucolics*. He
considered with pleasure the rural scenes there de-
scribed, as the landscape paintings of *Virgil's* pencil.

IMMEDIATELY before he retired to his bed-chamber, he soothed his mind to rest by those descriptions of happiness, with which the pastoral of the *Pollio* abounds. The remarkable turn of thought in the following lines seemed to him to be very much in the stile of some *Oriental* poetry.

*Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum :
Aspice, venturo latentur ut omnia sæclo.*



CHAP. II.

TWENTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE reader, perhaps, may not be displeased to turn his thoughts at present from *Rome* to that delightful country village, to which *Crito* had retired.

CRITO arrived at *Gensano* on *Monday* evening. He employed the next day in enquiring after proper lodgings for the young Painter, and in giving orders for their being aired, cleaned, and furnished. He made diligent enquiry also in relation to the medical assistance; which the young man might want here, in case his late distemper should return.

ON *Wednesday* morning *Crito* resumed his classic studies: for he had brought with him from *Rome*, in the pockets of his pupil's chaise, several octavo's and duodecimo's, relative to the history of *Augustus's* reign.

AFTER some hours employed in the prosecution of these studies, he took an abstemious dinner, and in the afternoon walked out into the fields.

AT the entrance of the town of *Gensano* are several regularly-planted avenues : one of which is terminated by a monastery. From the monastery a narrow path leads down to the neighbouring beautiful lake *.

WALKING along the avenue, *Crito* revolved in his mind what he had been reading in the morning relative to the history of *Augustus*. He reflected, with some satisfaction, that he was now almost within sight of that country town, which was for many ages the residence of *Augustus's* ancestors †. He recollected what *Suetonius* says of *Augustus's* grandfather ‡. May such (thought he) be my pupil's happy lot.

SUCH

* *Proseguendosi si entra nelle bellissime strade di Gensano ; (olim Cynthianum) lequali hanno piu del giardino, che della strada pubblica, per le spalliere d'olmi tosati a doppio ordine con ampia larghura. Vi è anche un bellissimo giardino de P. P. Cappucini, dal quale si vede il lago del vicino Nemi. Bellissimi sono i passeggi alla riva di questo lago, che rende il paese fruttifero e delizioso. Il giro del lago è quatro miglia. Eschinardi p. 303, 304.*

† *Velitræ* is about six or seven miles distant from *Gensano*.

‡ *Avus municipalibus magistratibus contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.*

SUCH were *Crito's* reflections, while walking along the avenue, or while sitting under the shade of some of its elms. But as he passed by the convent, and entered the woods which hang over the lake, *other* far better thoughts arose in his mind.

THE GREAT EVENT, *which came to pass in the reign of Augustus*, and within the limits of his dominion, strongly attracted *Crito's* attention; and, by degrees, *totally* engaged both his head and heart. The hours of the afternoon and evening fled swiftly away, while his soul continued wrapt in that happy and heavenly contemplation.

NOR was this the case only on *Wednesday* evening: the whole succeeding day was employed in the *same* manner. All classic authors were laid aside: *Crito's* time in his lodgings was devoted solely to religious books, written on the subject of that GREAT EVENT; his rural walks were sanctified with similar pious meditations.

ON *Thursday* evening, as he was on the banks of the lake, 'musing on *that wonderful* work of DIVINE LOVE, he searched out a retired place among the bushes and rocks, where no eye could behold him. There joyfully knelt he down on

the grass; and breathed to heaven some fervent sighs.

Let all the angels of God adore him. Such was the command of the ETERNAL FATHER, when he brought HIS SON into the world: though the devout Spirits of heaven we can scarce imagine to have wanted such invitation or command. Ob! what must have been their devotions, when they saw the time of his holy incarnation approaching?

When Thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

Et Homo factus est.

CRITO now rose from the grass; and continued his solitary walk. He ascended from the lake to the upper ground: he stopt at a small heap of ruins, through which a wild fig-tree had thrust forth its branches: he sat down there, and for some minutes surveyed the prospect.

ON his left appeared many mountains and hills, formerly productive of extensive olive-gardens and the richest vineyards; on his right a vast plain, naturally very fruitful, and antiently very populous; though now in great measure uncultivated and abandoned.

IT

IT suddenly occurred to *Crito's* imagination, that this part of *Italy*, in its present state, might be perhaps justly considered, as in several respects very similar to the *province of Galilee* in the condition in which it is described by modern travellers.

WITH a swift transition of thought he now indulged himself in the hope of visiting that country. — If our *Levant* travels (thought he to himself) should extend to the *Holy Land*, it will be then some pleasure to us to compare the present condition of *Galilee* with *Strabo's*, *Pliny's*, and above all, *Josephus's* description of its antient populousness, and high degree of cultivation *.

SUCH a comparison will be the subject of many melancholy but pleasing reflections to us in the intervals of those high contemplations and devotions, which are the proper exercise of a traveller's mind while in those regions. — But with what rapture will my good pupil survey the mountains and lakes near *Nazareth*? He will love the solitude, he will be pleased even with the poverty of that sacred village †.

D 4

CRITO'S

* See *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 775. — *Josephus* de bello Judaico, lib. iii. cap. 3. — *Pliny*, lib. v. cap. 15.

† See the description of *Nazareth* in *Heyman's Travels*.

The

CRITO's soul now entered into a calm and sweet meditation on the *happy* virtues of humility, poverty of spirit, and love of retirement from the world ; a meditation which he frequently indulged, and which he always intermingled with ardent aspirations to heaven.

BUT let us not dwell any longer on the description of *Crito's* devotions. The celestial pleasures of piety in great measure depend on their being kept concealed. *Soli DEO & angelis ejus nota esse debet, & hominum notitiam devitare.*

ON

The place, where the Saviour of the world was conceived, and where he spent the greatest part of his life, is at present one of the meanest in the whole country.

Its situation is very retired ; in a small valley at the foot of an hill, surrounded by a circle of mountains,

Those mountains, though now bare and uncultivated, yet would naturally admit of the finest improvements in plantations of olives, figs, and vines : they command an extensive view of the fruitful plain of *Esdracón*, antiently called the valley of *Jesrael*.

Within two hours journey of *Nazareth* stands the most beautiful of all hills, *Mount Tabor* : the lake of *Tiberias* makes part of the prospect from its summit.

It seems not an improper observation, that *Galilee* is a very different kind of country from *Judea*. *Judea*, particularly the region in the route of *Jerusalem*, (from which route most Europeans unadvisedly form their ideas of the whole *Terra Sancta*) is very rocky and to appearance barren. Whereas *Galilee* is naturally a very beautiful and fertile land ; though desolation is at present spread over it, as well as over the neighbouring provinces of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.

ON *Friday* morning, about nine o'clock, *Crito* walked out from his lodgings to the avenue on the *Roman* road. He sat down there on a bench under one of the trees ; and, having a book in his pocket, intended to continue there, till his *English* friends, according to their appointment, should arrive from *Rome*.

THE book was the *Greek Testament* : the passage, which on opening that book first met and rejoiced his eye, was the following short description of piety and beneficence united.

Συνήρχοντο οχλοι πολλοι ακουειν, κ' θεραπευεσθαι υπ' αυτου
απο των αδενειων αυτων. Αυτος δε ην υποχωρων εν ταις
ερημοις, κ' προσευχομενος.

WHILE *Crito* was engaged in this most happy study, he was joined by an aged father of the neighbouring poor convent. Benignity and humility shone in his venerable countenance.

*His snowy locks were down his shoulders shed,
As hoary frost with spangles doth attire
The mossy branches of an oak half dead.*

His whole appearance, indeed, strongly resembled that of the Hermit Contemplation, as described in *Spenser's Legend of Holiness*. He sat down on the
bench

bench by *Crito*, and by degrees entered into talk with him.

THE reader may perhaps some time hence be informed what was the subject of their discourse. Suffice it at present to take notice only, that their conversation was polite, friendly, loving, and earnest.

IN about an hour's time the bell of the neighbouring chapel rang : the old man then rose from his seat, and very affectionately took his leave of *Crito*. About the same time *Crito* saw at a distance on the road the coach of his *English* friends : he walked forward to meet them.

HIS pupil with joy saw him coming ; and telling the company of it, they ordered the coach to stop. They got out ; and, after several kind enquiries as to his health, walked with him into the town.

DURING this walk, they informed *Crito*, that they proposed to dine with him to-day at *Genzano*, and after dinner to make a further excursion towards *Laurentum* and *Lavinium*. They intended, they said, to pass a day or two in *that* country, which was the principal scene of the actions described in the six last books of the *Æneid* ; and should be very glad of their tutor's company.

CRITO

CRITO with thanks declined this proposal: his reason for declining it was, partly because he was unwilling to deprive the young *Irisbman* of his seat in the coach during this agreeable tour, partly because he was desirous of making use of the next two or three days in cultivating a further acquaintance with the good old father in the convent.

* * *

SOME few mornings afterwards the young gentlemen returned to *Gensano*; and from thence (taking *Crito* into the coach with them) proceeded to *Rome*.

THEIR conversation, during the first part of this short journey, was on the subject of what they had been seeing in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium* and *Laurentum*: from thence it naturally turned to the topic of *Virgil's* poetical and moral character.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen then informed *Crito* of the entertainment which he had lately enjoyed at *Rome*, in hearing *Virgil's* character compared with that of *Raphael d'Urbino*.

ON

ON further explanation of this matter, the young nobleman promised *Crito*, that immediately on their arrival at *Rome* he would with pleasure communicate to him Mr. *Jenkins's* paper on the character of *Raphael* : but *Crito's* pupil seemed to be backward in offering to shew to his tutor the observations which he had made on *Virgil's* character. He desired further time to enlarge and correct those observations.

PERHAPS, said he, when we shall be at *Naples*, I may be able to offer you a poor paper on the subject, one morning, while we shall be gathering some fresh laurel branches from his tomb ; or shall be rowing to the arched rocks of that small island, which is called *his school*. But at present I must beg to be excused. — My worthy friend here (continued he, turning to the eldest of his young friends) has some papers which will give you much greater entertainment. He has been hard at work, ever since you left *Rome*, on the character of *Agrippa*.

* * *

THE coach was now come within two or three miles of *Rome*, when the young nobleman, looking out of the coach-window, admired the noble effect,

effect, which the antient aqueducts had in that prospect.

SCARCE any thing indeed can be imagined more striking to a traveller, than the numerous aqueducts, which are still to be seen stretching their long arcades or bridges across the *Campania* of *Latium*; and directing their lofty and majestic course to *Rome*, like comets to the center of the solar system.

IT was on an hillock on the *Appian* way, just above the church of *Domine quo vadis*, that the company stopt to admire this noble prospect.

CRITO took this opportunity of reminding his young friends, that the most antient of these aqueducts was the work of *Appius Claudius Crassus*, who was censor during the first consulship of the second *Decius*, rather more than three hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The same person (said he) was the founder of this famous paved road on which we are now travelling. *Viam munivit, & aquam in urbem duxit, eaque unus perfecit* *.

THE

* Vide *Livii* lib. ix. c. 29. — *Montfaucon* tom. iv. part. 2. c. 1. — *Hooke* vol. i. p. 526.

THE second aqueduct was built by *Curius Dentatus*. *Curius* employed in that work of public utility, all his part of the spoils of the war with king *Pyrrhus*. But his aqueduct is on the other side of *Rome* towards *Tivoli* †.

THE third and most useful of all the aqueducts, was that of the *Aqua Martia*. It was built originally by *Marcus* *, but restored by *Agrippa*, who generously and justly left to it the name of its first founder.

THE fourth and fifth of the *Roman* aqueducts were the *Aqua Julia*, and the *Aqua Augusta*, vulgò *Virginis*. These were both entirely the works of *Agrippa*; though that nobly-minded man declined giving his name to either of them. Indeed, at *Rome*, as well as in all other parts of *Italy*, *Agrippa* constantly endeavoured to hide his beneficence under

† See book i. p. 167.

* *Dicantur verâ æstimatione invidiâ miracula, quæ L. Marcus Rex fecit. Is jussus a senatu aquarum Appiæ, Anienis, Tepulæ ductus reficere, novam à nomine suo appellatam, cuniculis per montes actis, intra Præturæ suæ tempus adduxit. Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palmâ præconio urbis Martia est inter reliqua Deûm munera urbi tributa. — Annium omnium comparatione, differentia suprà dicta deprenditur, cum quantum Aqua Virgo tæli, tantum præstet Martia haustu. Pliny.*

Martia tota potui totius urbis servit: Reliquæ aquæ aliis usibus assignantur. Habet longitudinem a capite ad urbem LX mill. passuum & DCCXX semis. Frontinus.

der the name of his friend, patron, and sovereign *Augustus*; or (what was perhaps more pleasing to that emperor) to attribute the honour of the design to *Augustus's* adoptive father, *Julius*.

I AM heartily glad that we are come to the times of *Agrippa*; and shall, with very great pleasure, listen to your observations on his excellent character.

SOME time this afternoon, when you shall not be better employed, (replied the eldest of the young gentlemen) I will submit my papers to your correction: in the mean time, let not a thought, relative to those papers, interrupt what you was going to say further on the history of these aqueducts.

THERE is no occasion, *at present*, replied *Crito*, to trouble you with the long catalogue of the thirteen aqueducts which were built by the successors of *Augustus*. Let me only observe with you in general, that such works of public utility are certainly the best ways by which a sovereign can display his magnificence. King *Abab* could erect an house of ivory; (called so, I suppose, for the same reason, as *Nero's* palace was called an house of gold) but it was the pious *Hezekiah* who built an aqueduct, and brought water into the city.

Let

Let us not, however at present, talk of *Jerusalem* : let us fix our thoughts on *Rome* ; and, if you please, prosecute our journey thither.

* * *

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now leaned out of the coach-window, and told the coachman to drive on ; and when he came to *Rome*, to turn into the *Piazza Navona*.

IN less than an hour the company arrived there. While the coach was driving slowly round the great fountain, the young nobleman joined with *Crito's* pupil in admiring the august idea, with which *Bernini* must have been animated, while forming that magnificent design. But *Crito*, with the other young gentleman, observed, that how justly soever the modern *Romans* might boast of this grand decoration of their city by *Bernini*, yet they ought not to forget that the really useful part of this fountain was originally due to *Agrippa*.

FROM the *Piazza Navona* the coach proceeded to the *Fontana di Trevi*. The company here stepped out of the coach to enjoy the agreeable, fresh and cool air of the place : under the shade of one of the neighbouring shops they stood for a considerable

siderable time, to admire the variety of cascades in which *Agrippa's* virgin aqueduct there bursts forth amidst the artificial rock-work. The young nobleman then turned the attention of the company to the new embellishment of that superb *Facciata*; one of the bas-reliefs which represents *Agrippa* with his soldiers searching for the springs of this fountain.

FROM the *Fontani di Trevi* the company walked on to the *Triton* fountain in the *Piazza Barberini*.

THE designs and ornaments of the *modern* fountains in this city, said the young nobleman, are indeed very grand. Yet I much question, whether or no, those of antient *Rome* were not far superior. If I am not mistaken, *Agrippa*, in the year of his *Ædileship*, built for the use of the inhabitants of this city, one hundred and thirty reservoirs of water, and one hundred and five public fountains: in the adorning of which he employed not less than *three hundred marble or brass statues*, and *four hundred marble columns*.

BUT let us turn down this street on our left. By the time we get to our lodgings, I hope, we shall find dinner ready. I think we ought to drink to-day a glass or two to the glorious memory of

Agrippa; a glass not of wine, but (what is far more pleasant in this burning climate) of that cool and pure water, which still flows from his long-lived munificence, though near eighteen hundred years are elapsed since that of his *Ædileship*. All the houses in this part of the town are, I think, supplied from his aqueducts *.

THE company now walked to their lodgings. They sat down with pleasure to dinner. *Crito* in particular seemed very happy at the thoughts of being returned to *Rome*, and being seated at table again with his dear friends.

DURING dinner time, the young nobleman introduced the topic of the noble and useful work of *Sir Hugh Middleton*; by which work *London* and *Westminster* are supplied with water; subterranean pipes running thro' almost every street, like veins thro' every member of the human body. He compared *Sir Hugh's* benevolence with that of *Agrippa*; tho' he owned, that (*to outward appearance at least*) the capital of *Britain* is in its supplies

* Τούτου δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγωγικὸν ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν υδραγωγείων, ὡς ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν υπογῶγων ῥεῖν, ἀπασαν δὲ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν δεχάμεναι καὶ σιφῶνας, καὶ κρήνας ἔχειν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ, ὥν πλείων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησεν Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμήσας τὴν πόλιν. *Strabo*, lib. v.

Modern *Rome* has the same convenience of plenty of water. See *Abbé Richard's Travels*, vol. vi. p. 225.

plies of water, as yet, far inferior either to antient or modern *Rome* : as inferior to *Rome*, as it is superior to *Paris*.

BUT let us not wander too much, said he, from *Agrippa's* character. Where, dear Sir, are we to have the pleasure of reading your paper on that subject this afternoon ?

I SCARCE know, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, what place to chuse for that purpose. *Many* parts of *Rome* were antiently embellished with *Agrippa's* public works of various kinds : but I suppose you will be glad to visit that great monument of his memory, which is the most universally celebrated. However, I will wait upon you again in an hour or two, (when the air begins to grow cool) and take your directions.

* * *

ABOUT six o'clock in the afternoon, the company went together to the place of the *Septa Julia*, and from thence to the situation of *Agrippa's* gardens, and the small remains of his baths ; observing, that *Agrippa* finished each of these works at a great expence, and generously left them to the public use.

THEY proceeded to the *Pantheon*.

APPROACHING to it, tho' as yet at a considerable distance, they saw with pleasure *Agrippa's* name engraven over the portico in characters now all black with age.

THEY passed thro' the stately portico, and entered the threshold of the brazen gate.

IF I am not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, *Virgil* in his description of the building of *Carthage* seems to have had in his mind, not only the idea of what would be the natural appearance of a new city in a maritime colony, but also the ideas of those magnificent structures, with which *Augustus* and *Agrippa* were in his time adorning *Rome*.

THE hint of the *alta theatri fundamenta* was perhaps taken from *Marcellus's* theatre: the principal temple of *Carthage* seems embellished exactly with the same ornaments as *this Pantheon*.

*Ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexæque
Ære trabes, foribus cardo stridebat abenis* *.

BUT

* The original brazen gate of the *Pantheon* was carried away by *Genferic*: its brazen steps, with many other of its ornaments, by one of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors in the seventh century: the vast nails and other brass work of the roof

BUT perhaps this fancy may have no real foundation. Let us go into the church. — Though we have so often visited it, yet still this venerable pile strikes us with awe.

THE company now advanced to the centre of the *Pantheon*, and looked up to its roof, while the young nobleman made several judicious reflections on its architecture.

How pleasing, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, is the kind of light which flows from that circular aperture? It seems to be something half way between the splendor of the sun, and the softness of the moon. Might not a modern flowery *Italian* writer compare this light to the purity and brightness of *Agrippa's* character, attempered as it was, and softened by his modesty?

BUT if you please we will sit down, in that recess on our right, on the wooden bench behind those two rich *Corinthian* columns. We shall be there more out of the way of the persons, who are continually coming from motives either of curiosity or devotion to visit this church.

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roof to the weight of 45,000,250 pounds (see *Abate Venuti* vol. 2. p. 73.) by pope *Urban VIII.* The pope indeed employed part of this metal to a very noble purpose, viz. the construction of the present most magnificent columns and canopy over the tomb of *St. Peter* in the *Vatican*.

THE company now took their seats on the bench, while the eldest of the young gentlemen stood leaning against one of the columns. . He paused for some moments in silence, and then delivered his thoughts in the following manner; fluently, without hesitation, without being once obliged to look on his paper of notes.

* * *

THE character of *Agrippa*, my dear friends, in one word, seems to be this. Very eminent merit attended by very remarkable modesty.

LET us first endeavour to consider his military history.

AGRIPPA's eminent merit in this sphere of action is demonstrated by the same proof as that of our *British* general, the Duke of *Marlborough*; *He was always successful.*

AGRIPPA was victorious in the *East*: he was victorious among the most warlike nations of the *West*; in *Hungary* and *Germany*, in *France*, and in *Spain*.

BUT *Agrippa*'s military glory was not (like that of all our *modern* commanders) confined to one element.

element. If in his campaigns he may in any particular point be compared to the Duke of *Marlborough*, certainly in his naval victories he may be put on a parallel with the most famous commanders at sea. None of the *British* or *Dutch* admirals could ever boast of trophies more splendid than the rostral crown and sea-green standard of *Agrippa*. He subdued the marine power of *Sextus Pompeius*; that son of *Neptune*, whose fleets were most formidable in all the *western* parts of the *Mediterranean*. He had a great share in the victory at *Actium*, over the immense combined navies of *Egypt* and the *Levant*. How eminently distinguished is *Agrippa's* figure in *Virgil's* picture of that sea-fight?

— *Ventis, & Diis Agrippa secundis*
Arduus agmen agens, cui belli insigne superbum
Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ.

THE word *superbum* in this passage was certainly intended to convey the idea of grandeur, not of pride. For *Agrippa's* modesty was as remarkable in the military world, as his glory. Though in the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, above thirty other commanders had solicited and obtained the honour of a triumph; yet *Agrippa*, from a principle of modesty, as well as of prudence, constantly declined it; declined that honour, which

to a *Roman* eye had always appeared as the highest and most desirable object of a military life.

PERMIT me to observe, that this modesty of *Agrippa* has been very abundantly rewarded. For, while almost all his contemporary generals and admirals are comparatively sunk in oblivion, the memory of *Agrippa's* military glory still remains flourishing.

THIS seems the more remarkable; as the works of that great historian and poet, who particularly recorded *Agrippa's* military history, and whose writings, it might be imagined, would have proved in the long run the most firm supports of his fame, are both long ago perished: I mean *Livy* and *Varius*.

OFTEN did I wish last week, that the part of *Livy's* history, which related to *Agrippa*, had been preserved. Often have I heard you, my dear friend, (in saying this he turned to *Crito's* pupil) lament the loss of *Varius's* poems: *Varius*, the *Roman Homer*.

Scriberis Vario fortis, & hostium

Victor, Meonii carminis alite

Quam rem cunque ferox navibus, aut equis

Miles te duce gesserit.

Nos,

Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere ; nec gravem

Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii ;

Nec cursus duplices per mare Ulyssæi —

IF *Varius* in any degree really resembled *Homer*, particularly in the art of drawing characters, his military character of *Agrippa* may justly be imagined to have contained several particulars very instructive to the young *Roman* reader.

FOR, besides the eminent merit of able commandership, *Agrippa* possessed many military accomplishments ; suitable to the character of a poet's hero ; and such as a young reader might be animated to the hopes of imitating. *Virtutis erat nobilissimæ ; labore, vigiliâ, periculo invictus.*

BUT let us now turn our thoughts to another subject.

SITTING, as you are at present, under the stately roof of this venerable fabrick ; a fabrick erected by *Agrippa* for a religious purpose, and for above these last thousand years constantly used as a Christian church ; in *this* place, *you*, dear sir, will justly expect (in saying this, the young orator turned towards *Crito*) that we should endeavour to exercise our little eloquence, not so much on *Agrippa's* military heroisms, as on that far better topic, his labours in times of peace.

AGRIPPA

AGRIPPA in his high station must have had frequent opportunities of being beneficent to several of the nations which were then subject to the *Roman* empire. He is said to have behaved to them with great equity and goodness — But you are going to say something: let me not prevent you.

I REMEMBER reading with great pleasure in *Josephus*, replied *Crito*, some particulars of *Agrippa's* just and true beneficence to the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* *; as well as the description of his visit to *Jerusalem* †.

THE conversation now dwelt for some minutes on that article of the *Jewish* history; it afterwards returned to its former topic: the young nobleman observing, that *Agrippa* adorned several parts of *Europe* with works of great public utility, as well as splendor.

I RE-

* Πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἐκ ἐβραδυνέτο ὁ Ἀγρίππας. — Χρηστικὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἡξιοῦσιν ὠφελίμα, μὴδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐλπίει. *Antiq. Judaic. lib. xvi.*

† Ἦγεν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱερουσαλιμιτῶν, ὑπάρχοντων τε τῶν δήμων πάντων ἐν εὐρωταίᾳ ὥρῃ, καὶ δεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα συνευφημίαις. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μὲν εκατομβὴν κατέδυσεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν δῆμον. — Απαγγέλεται δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων Ἰουδαίων, ὡς μὲν ἐπέβη τῆς χώρας εὐμενῆς, ὡς δὲ ἀπεδωκας τῷ θεῷ τὰ τελεία θυμὰτα, τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελείαις εὐχαῖς, ὡς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐξίασας, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ξενία προσήκοντα.

Ibid.

I REMEMBER, said he, while we were in *France*, we were informed that *Agrippa* was the author of the vast design of those four great roads, which from their mutual centre near *Lyons* were extended to the most distant parts of the *Gallic* provinces. The learned Abbé, who gave us this information, added that some remains of these roads were still visible near *Lyons*. You must, I think, remember that conversation : it happened soon after our first arrival from *England* at *Paris*, while we were viewing the church of the *Hopital des Invalides*. Don't you recollect, with what pleasure the Abbé then digressed from this work of *Agrippa* into a panegyric on the many *modern* public works in *France*. He described the long and magnificent, planted and paved avenues, which lead from several quarters, particularly from *Fontainebleau* to *Paris* : he recited the catalogue of the splendid structures, with which *Louis le Grand* and *Colbert* adorned the bank of the *Seine* : he told us, that when we should be making the tour of *France*, we should be eye-witnesses of many long canals joining rivers naturally distant ; some joining distant seas.

I VERY well recollect that conversation, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Our hearts sympathized with the Abbé's public spirit: for (thank God) we have not been educated in the darkness of that narrow and mean policy, which envies and depreciates every noble action that is achieved

achieved by *Frenchmen*, and grudges every blessing that is granted by Providence to *France*. There is a policy, which is much more generous, much more brave, much more wise; which knows how to rejoyce in the virtues and prosperities of its neighbour nation; though (as in duty-bound) it directs its labours chiefly to the advantage of its own people.

THE good Abbé, I remember, listened with pleasure to the account we gave him of the improvements which were making in *England*, such as our new bridges, new roads, and other works of peace. I wish we had been able to communicate to him that great plan of inland navigation, which (I hear from *Staffordshire*) is now preparing to be laid before the House of Commons: the plan for the junction of the *Severn*, *Trent*, and *Mersey*.

*Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
 Bid temples, worthier of the God ascend;
 Back to his bounds the subject sea command,
 And roll obedient rivers thro' the land:
 These honours PEACE to happy Britain brings,
 These are Imperial works, and worthy Kings.*

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, the similar generous sentiments which flowed from your lips and heart,
 while

while viewing the ruins at *Dunkirk*. As an *Englishman* you was glad that the trade of *London* was secured by the dismantling of *Dunkirk*, but yet you expressed much concern that a work of such magnificence, and of such utility to the commerce of *France* and *Flanders* should be brought to desolation. You cast a look of compassion on its long canal then almost choked with sand; and on its moles, over which the sea at a high tide was then washing. You did not rejoyce at the demolition even of its forts; some of which were then in ruins, some laid level with the sands, others were buried in the waves. You wished, that the security of your country could have been effected by other means. But let us not deviate too much from the subject of our *Roman* studies.

IF *Agrippa*, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, was beneficent to *France*, he was (as must be naturally imagined) much more so to *Italy*.

OF this we shall perhaps see *one specimen* in our journey to *Naples*; I mean that great artificial sea-port near *Misenum*; which, though made in time of war, and designed as a station for the *Italian* fleet in opposition to the invasions of *Sextus Pompeius* *, yet certainly proved very useful to trade

* See *Frenshem*. book 128. c. 29, 30. and also *Suetonius*, A. V. C. 717. — *Misenum* seems to have been the *Plymouth*, as *Antium* was the *Portsmouth*, and *Osia* the *Nore* of antient *Rome*.

trade and navigation in the following years of peace.

AGRIPPA's designs were also very beneficial in dispersing the pestilential vapours, which infected the country round the lake *Averno*. But of his labours between the *Averno* and *Lucrine*, I am afraid, we shall find but few traces remaining; as the face of that shore is said to be very considerably changed by the inundations of the sea, and the eruptions of subterranean fires.

BUT whatever were the public labours of *Agrippa* in other parts of *Italy*, *Rome* seems to have been the place, the improvement and embellishment of which he had most at heart.

IT is needless for me to speak on that topic. This morning, this afternoon, this instant, your eyes are witnesses of the magnificence with which he adorned the capital of his country.

LONG aqueducts, and numerous fountains; public baths, and public gardens; vast porticoes for the comitia or assemblies of the people; stately temples, particularly his *Pantheon*, were *Agrippa's* works: works far surpassing those of any other private *Roman*, and perhaps not equalled by those of any emperor.

O MY dear friends, when we shall be at *Athens* viewing the grand portico of the temple of *Minerva* in the *Acropolis*, and talking of the times of *Pericles*, shall we not then recollect *Agrippa* and his *Panttheon*? *Agrippa* was the *Roman Pericles* in relation to the grandeur of his public structures: in other respects his character was far superior.

THE young nobleman now rose from his seat; and after some pause, How much more honourable to *Agrippa*, said he, was such magnificence, thus displayed in works of *public utility*, than if he had confined his vast expences to the adorning merely his own palace or villa?

IF I am not mistaken, *Agrippa* once proposed, that the chef d'œuvres of sculpture and painting then in *Rome* should not be suffered to remain any longer in private hands, but (satisfaction being made to the owners) should all be removed to some of the *public* buildings in this city. *Agrippa* set the example of this, as well as proposed the design *.

THE design, said *Crito's* pupil, seems to have been originally a thought of *Socrates*; as what would be a great means of repressing *private* luxury and pride; as well as of encouraging the fine arts,
and

* *Extat oratio Agrippæ de hac re magnifica & maximo civium digna.* PLINY.

and of encreasing the *public* magnificence. If I remember right, it is in the third book of the *Memorabilia*.— But we interrupt our friend.

WHAT I have further to say on this subject, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, relates to a circumstance, which, I am sure, will give *you* peculiar pleasure.

THIS public spirit of *Agrippa* was attended with the same *modesty*, that accompanied his military merit. As your tutor observed this morning, *Agrippa* in all his structures constantly endeavoured to hide himself under the names of his friends and benefactors, and to turn on them all the commendation and praise.

BUT *this modesty also* has happily failed of its intended effect. *Agrippa's* name is and will for ever be most renowned for these works of goodness. Some of his works themselves seem to have met with peculiar favour and mercy from the rough hand of time. You observed this morning, that great part of this city was still supplied by his aqueduct. Is it not also something remarkable ; that this his Pantheon (on the portico he was by *Augustus* unwillingly obliged to inscribe his name) should still subsist, far more entire and perfect, than any other of all the pompous fabrics, with which this stately city was ever filled ?

BUT

BUT if you please, we will now step into the portico : you seem tired of *sitting* in this recess : we can walk about the portico with more liberty, than we can in the church.

* * *

UNDER the portico of the *Pantheon* are to this day remaining two great niches : in one of which stood antiently the *colossal* statue of *Augustus*, in the other that of *Agrippa*.

IF you please (continued the eldest of the young gentleman, leading his friends to the niche on the left hand) we may *here not improperly* consider some parts of *Agrippa's* conduct : I mean, his conduct in regard to *Augustus*.

As *Augustus* lived in the mixed character of a *Roman* citizen and of a *Roman* emperor, so the behaviour of *Agrippa* to him was proportionally composed of the offices both of a *friend*, and of a *minister*.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the first of these points of view, we shall find his conduct to be (according to *Dion Cassius's* description) one of the most perfect patterns of affectionate *friendship*.

PERMIT me to make a distinction here. I commend not *Agrippa's* friendship to *Octavius*, but

to *Augustus*. It was no praise to be the friend of the bloody triumvir : but it is a great honour to have been so to the wise and mild emperor.

CAPABLE as *Agrippa* was to have filled the principal place, he modestly and wisely chose the second. In that rank he continued to cultivate the favour of *Augustus*, without meanness, without envy. Indeed their constant friendship confers on each of them equal honour. For it was without distrust or suspicion that *Augustus* exalted *Agrippa* to the chief honours of the state : it was with proper generosity that *Augustus* rewarded his merit ; making him his colleague in the government, and his intended successor in the empire : it was with lasting gratitude (gratitude, how noble a virtue in princes !) that on the death of *Agrippa* *Augustus* spoke himself the funeral panegyric, and placed the urn in his own sepulchre ; and continued ever afterwards highly to honour his memory.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the *other* point of view, we shall find his behaviour that of a most wise and virtuous *minister of state*.

AGRIPPA aided his sovereign with the best counsels : and attributed to him (not to himself) all the honour arising from them.

AGRIPPA was not less beloved by the people than by the prince.

HE

HE acquired this public favour by the best means; without ostentation, without any ambitious design.

HE fought it with no other intention than that of strengthening and establishing by it the authority of his prince.

ON the other hand, he never made any other use of his favour with his sovereign, than that of employing it as an instrument for procuring the greatest benefit and most real happiness to the people.

O MY dear friends, with what philanthropic and patriotic ardour ought we to join our wishes, that *Great Britain* may in the present and in future centuries be often under the guidance of *such a* prime minister, the support of the throne, the blessing of the nation?

You were just now speaking of *France*; (continued the young politician, addressing himself to his noble companion) I have been thinking, whether or no the illustrious pair, whose statues once adorned these niches, might not be compared, in some respects, to that honest prime minister, the Duke of *Sully*, and his friend, fellow-soldier, and sovereign *Henry the Great*; in other respects, to Cardinal *Amboise*, and that father of his people

Louis the Twelfth. You may remember what *Mezerai* says of the Cardinal : *Ce ministre fut justement aimé de la France & de son maitre, parce qu'il les aimoit tous les deux également.*

I WISH, said *Crito*, that at your leisure you would inform me of some of the particulars in the life of Cardinal *Amboise*. I remember, when I was in *Normandy*, I went to see his grand mausolæum in his cathedral at *Rouen* ; but I am very little acquainted with his character. In general I know it is highly and I suppose justly celebrated : yet, if I am not mistaken, there is reason to wish, that he had been less concerned with the negotiations of *Italy*, and more with the religious business of his diocess. These were the sentiments which passed through my mind, while I stood leaning on the rails of that altar, which adjoins to his mausolæum.

BUT let me not at present draw off the thoughts of the company from your noble and just panegyric on *Agrippa*.

I AM deeply convinced, replied the worthy youth, that my abilities are very inadequate to the task. It is perhaps a very ridiculous vanity in me, at the age of one or two and twenty, to be talking of *Agrippa's* ministerial merit. I shall have reason to be happy, if I shall be able to think properly on the
the

the subject twenty years hence. But I am sure I ought to thank you for your condescension : you have been patiently listening to me, though what I have had to say deserves to be considered in no better light, than that of a school-boy's declamation.

OFTEN did I wish last week for the abilities of some of my father's parliamentary friends, while I was reading and endeavouring to understand the long train of argument discussed by *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* in *that* important debate in the *Roman* cabinet-council, which was to determine whether *Augustus* should retain or resign the imperial power.

IN this debate *Agrippa*, you know, according to his usual magnanimity and ardent sensibility of that glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, strongly supported the proposal which seemed the most generous. He advised *Augustus* gradually and prudently to resign the supreme authority into the hands of its antient owners, the senate and people of *Rome*. He enforced this advice (which was directly against his own private interest) with all the spirit of a *Roman*, zealous for the name of liberty ; and with all the sincerity of a true friend, anxious for the safety, prosperity, and happiness of *Augustus*.

MÆCENAS, on the other hand, elegantly and eloquently laid open the true condition of the *Roman* state. It had long since lost, said he, and was now become *incapable* to enjoy, the *real* blessings of liberty. Its provinces groaned under various successive oppressors : its capital was filled with sedition and corruption, confusion and anarchy. All the parts of its great and populous empire were ravaged with bloody and endless civil wars. The ship of the state, crowded with a mutinous and wicked crew, but without a rudder, without ballast, was tossed on a boisterous sea by perpetual storms ; storms, from the rage and wild fury of which a settled and moderate monarchy alone could open to her a secure refuge, and a quiet smooth haven.

IN the name of his country, in the name of mankind, *Mæcenas* then conjured *Augustus* to retain the sovereignty ; to retain it from the principle, not of ambition, but of public spirit : to support what was now become the real interest of *Rome* by his wise and mild government : and to protect from the return of the most dreadful calamities that large part of the human race, which was subject to her dominion.

O MY dear countrymen, as an *Englishman* I hope that I shall always continue to abominate the idea of the extinction of national liberty ; yet, let me

me own, that if I had lived under *Augustus*'s reign, I should have been thankful that the times of anarchy were passed.

Ημῶν αὐτῶν εὐεκα, καὶ τῆς πόλεως, πειδῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ σοι διδῶσθ' καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνεπαύσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν καταστάσιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιῆται.

To the truth and force of these arguments *Agrippa* submitted. He then, immediately on the determination of this grand debate, began to contrive how he might, by the most indefatigable application, render the present form of government as beneficial to the public as possible.

BUT let me not trouble you with a repetition of *Agrippa*'s good actions. Let me rather hasten to close this declamation. In what manner can I better conclude it, than with the words of *Dion Cassius*?

Ἀγρίππας τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶπων διαφανὲς ἀρίστῳ.

* * *

THE conversation now turned to other topics.— The portico of the *Pantheon* is supported by sixteen columns, which are four feet and an half in diameter, and nine and thirty feet in height, without measuring either the capital or the base.

THE young nobleman observed to the company, that each of these lofty pillars is formed out of *one single block of Egyptian granite*.

ALL architects agree, said he, that this portico was *not* built at the same time with the temple : but added to it afterwards. Perhaps the temple might be built by *Agrippa* before the battle of *Actium* ; and the portico added soon after the conquest of *Egypt*. Perhaps these stately columns were *then* brought from *Alexandria* : their materials certainly are *Egyptian*. They were probably worked by some *Greek* artists resident in that country.

IN relation indeed to many of the embellishments, which *Italy* received under the reign of *Augustus*, and the ministry of *Agrippa*, it may be thought (perhaps with reason) that they were in great measure owing to the circumstance of *Egypt's* being *at that time* united to the *Roman* empire.

HISTORY informs us, that when *Augustus* landed at *Alexandria*, he was struck with the remarkable

markable beauty and splendor of that city; and expressed great veneration for its founder. Probably he then conceived the noble design of embellishing *Rome* in somewhat of the same manner; that is, of making *Rome* in some respects a second *Alexandria*.

IT is observable in regard to *Agrippa*, that this portico is supported by pillars not unworthy to have made part of the most pompous colonnades in the palace of *Cleopatra*. It is remarkable also, that his great subterranean reservoir of water at *Miseno* (which to this day, it is said, subsists entire, and is called the *Piscina mirabilis*) is exactly of the same kind, with those which, according to modern travellers, are still remaining at *Alexandria*.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But *the antient sovereigns of Memphis and Thebes*, as well as the founder and other more modern princes of *Alexandria*, were authors of several works of national utility and stupendous magnificence; which seem to have drawn the attention and excited the admiration of *Augustus*.

WHILE *Augustus* was in *Egypt*, he began to employ his soldiers in cleansing and repairing the antient, and in cutting new canals. Most of the
antient

antient canals were the works of the *kings of Thebes and Memphis*.

AUGUSTUS, on his return to *Italy*, imitated, as you observe, in this country the grandeur of *Egypt*. But it was the grandeur not of the *Ptolomies* only, but also of *Menes* and *Osymanduas*. Witness his mausolæum, his *Palatine* library, his temples, and other public structures.

AUGUSTUS adorned *Rome* with the obelisks, those most noble specimens of the *primæval* wealth and arts of *Egypt*.

SEVERAL of the *Roman* emperors followed *Augustus's* example. They imported so many obelisks, so many granite columns and statues, as almost to turn *Rome* into an *Egyptian* city.

ON *Wednesday* morning I passed some hours in turning over *Pocock's* and *Norden's* description of *Egypt*. I afterwards walked to the *Villa Negroni*, and sat down on that hillock, which is adorned with the colossal statue of *Rome* in the character of *Minerva*. Several aged cypresses encircle that mount. I sat down, and viewed from between the cypresses the solemn prospect of the desolation of the *Viminal* and *Esquiline* hills. At a distance on my left I saw a great obelisk rising among the vineyards, near the *Lateran* cathedral. By the gate of the
Negroni

Negroni garden I saw another *Egyptian* obelisk, which once stood by the mausolæum of *Augustus*, but is now placed before the northern front of *Santa Maria Maggiore*. These objects inclined me then to imagine myself in the neighbourhood of the ruined cities in *Thebais*; *Coptos*, *Tentyra*, or *Syene*.

BUT if a prospect of part of *Rome*, even at *this* time, bears somewhat of an *Egyptian* air; how much greater must the similitude have been in those ages, when every street in *Rome* contained something that was *Egyptian*?

THAT is, replied the young nobleman, still in some degree the case. The only difference seems to be this: Under the *Roman* emperors those *Egyptian* monuments, which adorned the streets of *Rome*, were as entire, as when they stood on the banks of the *Nile*, but at present many of them are broken or buried.

WHAT numbers of *Egyptian* antiquities have been found under the Dominican convent, behind this *Pantheon*? In the piazza before it you see a small *Egyptian* obelisk, fronting this portico. But let us not attend to *little* objects: there are at present in this *Campo Marzo* three *great* obelisks, which *Augustus* brought from that country. One of them is buried near the church of *St. Rocco*; the second
lies

lies above ground near the church of *St. Lorenzo*: the third is erected at the *Porta del Popolo*.

I AM very glad, said *Crite's* pupil, that the conversation has turned on this topic. I wish you would permit your coach (which is waiting for you in this piazza) to carry us now to the obelisk at the *Porta del Popolo*. I have a particular reason for desiring this favour.

THE young nobleman, and the rest of the company, readily agreed to this proposal.

IN the way from the *Pantheon* to the *Porta del Popolo* the conversation turned on their intended travels to the *Levant*. They were talking of visiting *Alexandria*, *Grand Cairo*, and *Luxor*; when the coach entering the piazza *del Popolo*, their attention was recalled to the magnificence of *Rome*.

* * *

THERE is not perhaps any city in the world, the entrance of which is designed with more magnificence, than that of *Rome* by the *Porta del Popolo*. The gate is of the architecture of *Michael Angelo* and *Vignola*: it leads into a piazza, where the two famous *twin-churches* appear in front: between and on each side of these churches are *three* straight and level streets. The street on the right leads to the

the *Ripetta* of the *Tiber* : that in the middle is above a mile in length, runs through the midst of the *Campus Martius*, and is terminated by the buildings on the *Capitoline* hill : the street on the left leads to the grand stair-case in the piazza *di Spagna*, and was intended by *Sixtus Quintus* to have been joined to his long *Strada Felice*, and thus continued quite to the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, forming one continued straight street of more than two *English* miles and an half in length.

IN the midst of the piazza *del Popolo* rises an *Egyptian* obelisk : in the view of which all these three streets nobly terminate.

THE shaft of this obelisk was originally one solid mass of granite. It is eighty-two feet in height : its sides are richly covered with hieroglyphics.

ITS granite basis is between twenty and thirty feet high. The inscription engraven on it, is to this effect : *Imperator Augustus Cæsar, Ægypto in potestatem populi Romani redactâ, Soli donum dedit.*

THE company stepped out of the coach, and walked up to the obelisk. — While they were standing by the fountain, which flows from its basis, *Crito's* pupil presented a sheet of paper to his tutor. I have,

have, said he, been lately compiling an exercise to be submitted to your correction. It is drawn up in the manner of a vision : I hope you will excuse my folly in the attempt.

CRITO received the paper with thanks ; cast his eye with pleasure over some part of its contents, and then returned it to his pupil, desiring him to read it to the company.

* * *

SOME few nights ago, said his worthy pupil, I dreamt that I was with three of my friends ; from whom indeed the thoughts of my heart are hardly ever, whether sleeping or waking, divided : I dreamt, that we were standing together in this very place. On a sudden, we saw a female figure before us ; a figure, such as we have often observed in antient sculptures or paintings, representing the *Dea Roma*. She was sitting by this fountain.

She appeared ; but not, as in the times of *Virgil* and *Augustus*, enthroned like the tower-crowned *Cybele*,

——— *Qualis Berecynthia mater,
Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnes cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes :*

She

She appeared, as in the *Gothic* ages ; prostrate on the ground ; despoiled of all her ornaments ; and weeping over her dying children, her *sciences* and *arts*.

IN vain was she endeavouring, like the *Medicean Niobe*, to save from the destroyers some one of *these* her numerous and beauteous offspring : some one of these, she said, may be still some consolation to me in the ruin of all my wealth and power.

————— ΙΚΕΤΕΥΩ ΔΕ ΣΕ

Μη μοι το τέκνον εκ χερων απο σπασης,

Μηδε κλαιντε των τεθνηκοτων αλις.

Ταυτη γεγηθα, καπιληθομαι κακων.

Η δ' αυτι πολλων εστι μοι παραψυχη*.

WE stood for some time lamenting over her : when we heard behind us the sound of the string of an harp. I thought at first that it had been the harp of *Spencer* † ; but on turning round, we perceived to our great surprize, that the sound proceeded from within the shaft of the obelisk ; the top of which seemed just at that time to be illumined and gilded by the rising sun. This sound was succeeded by a voice which seemed also to proceed from within the same obelisk, but which
was

* See the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*.

† Vide *Spencer's Poem* on the Ruins of *Rome*, and of Time.

was far more clear and distinct, than what ever was said to issue from the statue of *Memnon* *.

“ LAMENT not, it said, the fall of *Rome*, that
 “ proud but now humbled city : lament not her,
 “ though once the patroness of learning. Even
 “ *Thebes* is fallen, that far more glorious city, the
 “ seat of the great *Hermes*, and original source of
 “ all science to mankind.

“ BUT bewail not the fall either of *Thebes* or
 “ *Rome*. Lift up your eyes to the view of the
 “ history of the whole world in general : and then
 “ fall prostrate before HIM, whose awful name
 “ was in our language concealed under that of the
 “ *divine and immortal OSIRIS*. Thankfully adore
 “ His Providence ; by which science has not been
 “ always partially confined to one or two coun-
 “ tries, but has in various ages been appointed to
 “ visit and bless various regions : and thus per-
 “ haps, before the consummation of all things, will
 “ have visited and illumined in its turn every
 “ country on the face of the earth : even as, that
 “ most glorious emblem of knowledge, the Sun
 “ (to

* The statue of *Memnon*, which is still remaining near *Thebes*, is fabulously said to have spoken every morning, as soon as the rays of the rising sun struck on its head. *Strabo*, who pretends that he heard it, says, the sound was like that of the string of an harp.

“ (to whom, and to philosophic literature, this
 “ obelisk, of which I am the *Genius*, stands con-
 “ secrated) has before the completion of its annual
 “ course distributed an equal quantity of light to
 “ the nations of every climate, from the equator
 “ to both the poles.

“ O THAT it was permitted for me to re-
 “ move the vail that covers the face of the great
 “ *Isis*, or to explain to you some fragments of the
 “ wisdom of *Egypt* !

“ BUT I, it is true, am the inferior and junior
 “ of all the *Genii*, which preside over the great
 “ obelisks at *Rome*. Much more properly might
 “ I refer you for such instruction to the *Genius* of
 “ the *Lateran* (or *Rameſſean*) obelisk, which is
 “ coæval with the fall of *Troy* : or to the elder
 “ *Genius* of the *Vatican*, the work of the son of
 “ *Sesoſtris* : or rather to that obelisk which is by
 “ far the most noble and antient of us all, I mean
 “ my fellow-traveller, and now near neighbour
 “ in this *Campus Martius*, the obelisk of the great
 “ *Sesoſtris* himself.

“ As for my own age, I cannot pretend to any
 “ great antiquity, being scarce more than twenty-
 “ four hundred years old ; which is equal to between
 “ seventy and eighty of your transitory generations.

“ Yet short as my experience has been, my history
 “ may be instructive, at least to you, O ye-children
 “ of yesterday !

“ I WAS born in the dregs of time, in the last
 “ age of the long *Ægyptian* history. If my memory
 “ does not fail me, it was in the reign of
 “ *Psammiticus* or *Amasis*, (about coæval with some
 “ of the first kings of *Rome*) that I came out of
 “ our common mother’s womb, the antient cavern
 “ of the granite rock of *Syene*.

“ I WAS formed into my present shape by the
 “ directions of the inhabitants of the neighbouring
 “ sacred island ; the island of *Phile*, famous for
 “ the sepulchral temple of the great *Isis*. As soon
 “ as my sides were adorned with these sacred characters,
 “ (which still remain so fresh) I was floated
 “ down the *Nile* from the cataracts to those
 “ level meadows of *Heliopolis*, which are at present
 “ the suburbs of *Grand Cairo*. At *Heliopolis*
 “ I stood no more than six or seven centuries,
 “ being removed from thence to *Rome*, where
 “ I have been now scarce eighteen hundred years.

“ HAVING been originally consecrated to philosophical
 “ literature, it has been my chief pleasure to
 “ contemplate the variations, the rise and
 “ decline of science in the various places and
 “ various ages of my life.

“ I N

“ IN my first voyage from *Syene* to *Heliopolis*,
 “ I remember, that, in passing by *Thebes* and
 “ *Memphis*, I heard much complaint of the de-
 “ cline of the wisdom and virtue of *Egypt*, and
 “ many (soon too fatally verified) prognostications
 “ of the speedy fall of that great state; that state,
 “ which in the glory of the antiquity of its his-
 “ tory, in the glory of its universal reputation
 “ for wisdom and learning, and particularly for
 “ (that its peculiar honour) the invention of all
 “ arts and sciences, was far superior to any other
 “ country which the sun ever saw.

Χαίρε, Χαίρε, Ἀργυρίῳ ἢ Σπεύσσῳ με*.

“ ON my arrival at *Heliopolis* I was visited and
 “ attentively viewed by the learned men of se-
 “ veral foreign regions, who were then travelling
 “ in *Egypt*.

“ THOSE travellers who were come from the
 “ *Euphrates*, and were natives of the *East*, spoke
 “ (as the *Egyptians*) of the decline of literature
 “ in their countries. Whereas other strangers
 “ from the *North* and *West* (three particularly,
 “ whose names I remember were *Tbales*, *Solon*,
 “ and *Pythagoras*) joyfully expressed their hopes
 “ that science was arising in *Greece* and its colo-

G 2

“ nies.

* Vide Epitaphium Iſidis apud Diodorum Siculum.

“ nies. It was at that time, indeed, that the
 “ *Ionians* began to have access into *Egypt*; and
 “ from thence derived their philosophy, astron-
 “ my, and geometry.

“ THE same observation I heard in succeeding
 “ ages still more and more confirmed, by the con-
 “ versation of several *Grecians*; who, during the
 “ *Persian* government, visited the banks of the
 “ *Nile*; particularly *Herodotus* and *Hippocrates*,
 “ *Eudoxus* and *Plato*. How often did that last
 “ great man walk round my basis, measure my
 “ several proportions, and diligently study all the
 “ philosophic inscriptions on my sides?

“ THE visits of these illustrious *Grecians* were
 “ my greatest comfort during the first three cen-
 “ turies of my life: most part of which time was
 “ past under the *Persian* government. How fre-
 “ quently did I then wish for some *Athenian*
 “ *Εναυροπῶς*, or some vaster vessel, (such as were
 “ afterwards seen in *Egypt*, under the reigns of
 “ the *Grecian* kings) to remove me to their coun-
 “ try, then the most glorious seat of science; and
 “ to place me in the grove of *Academos*, or be-
 “ fore the temple of the goddess of Wisdom in
 “ the *Acropolis*; or in some other sacred or philo-
 “ sophical part of that famous city of the *Egypt-*
 “ *tian Cecrops*?

“ UNEX-

“ UNEXPECTEDLY a great revolution happened in learning as well as in empire. *Egypt* was delivered from its *Persian* tyrants; the successors of the cursed *Cambyfes*; and *Greece* was torn in pieces by the successors of *Alexander* the Great. All its arts and sciences fled then for refuge, as its gods did formerly during the wars of the *Titans*,

Cæruleum in gremium, latebroſaque flumina Nili.

“ *EGYPT*, their original parent, became now their protectress; and the *Ptolomies*, in patronizing learning, began to rival the glories of our antient *Thebaic* and *Memphitic* sovereigns.

“ WITH what pleasure did I then frequently see on the banks of the *Nile*, *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, and *Callimachus*; and those far more exalted characters, *Conon*, *Euclid*, and *Archimedes*? But above all, *Demetrius Phalereus*, the real author of the musæum and library of *Alexandria*; which honoured *Egypt* almost as much as that of *Osymanduas*. Happy *Alexandria*, if thy princes had added virtue to their love of science, and consequently stability to the happiness of themselves and of their people!

“ WHY should I relate what I saw during the next five hundred years? Carried away captive

“ from my native country, I had at least the satisfaction of entering *Rome* in the *Augustan* age, when all sciences were here most flourishing.

“ BUT I soon found, that human greatness is equally short and transitory in all parts of the earth : in some very few ages, knowledge and power declined and expired here also.

“ BUT why should I repeat, what is the subject of much melancholy meditation to all travellers, who view here the mingled ruins of the arts of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Rome* ; and sometimes drop a tear on the broken colossal statues of the *Tiber* and *Nile*, which (not without reason) are joined together, both on the *Vatican* and *Capitoline* hills ?

“ THE storms, which laid waste the *Roman* empire, came first from the north. I remember the dreadful thunderings and blackness, with which they approached this country, threatening its desolation. The land before them was then beautiful, beautiful as the land of *Egypt* : behind them an howling wilderness.

“ Soon the tempest became general. *Alaric* burst from the north. Not forty years afterwards came *Genferic* (the revenger of old *Carthage*) from the south. In the following century

“ tury *Totilas* made a fresh irruption from the
“ north.

“ How different were those days of terror and
“ of darkness, from the calm and benign seasons
“ which shone upon this city in the *Augustan*
“ age ?

“ IN those repeated hurricanes or typhoons, all
“ the *Egyptian* obelisks at *Rome* (except the for-
“ tunate *Vatican*) bowed our venerable heads to
“ the dust : like a grove of tall *Thebaic* palms,
“ torn up by whirlwinds driving from the deserts
“ of *Lybia* or *Æthiopia*.

“ WE lay buried, and with us all the arts and
“ sciences of the west for near a thousand years.”

SOME confusion now rose in my ideas, accord-
ing to the usual incoherency of dreams. The
figure of the *Dea Roma* was vanished from our
sight : the *Genius* of the obelisk seemed however
still to be continuing his history.

“ DURING the long thousand years of my in-
“ terment, the chief remains of the learning of
“ *Europe* were preserved in its native spot, the do-
“ minions of *Greece*. It was also some consola-
“ tion to me in my grave to be informed (the
“ race of the *Genii* communicate and receive in-
“ formation

“ formation by many methods inexplicable to human ears) that the learning of *Asia* and *Africa* was under the *Arabian Caliphs*, then reviving in their native seats, the banks of the *Euphrates*, and of my beloved *Nile*.

“ BUT the violence of the *Turkish* arms drove them all again westward.

“ ON the revival of arts and sciences in the west, many of the *Egyptian* obelisks at *Rome* (as if we were become the *Talismans* of science for *Italy*) arose from the dust.

“ WE were re-erected by *Sixtus Quintus*. At that time I thought the *Augustan* age was in some measure returned hither. I saw that pope imitate *Agrippa* in the useful work of his fountains and aqueducts, and in the noble structure of the dome of *St. Peter's*, built nearly with the same dimensions as those of the *Pantheon* : I saw him imitate *Augustus*, in adorning this city by various embellishments, and in forming that great repository of literature at the *Vatican*, which is almost as famous in modern times, as the *Palatine* or *Alexandrian* were in former ages.

“ BUT now again I begin to hear of the decline of science in *Italy*. Science is said to be
“ far

“ far more flourishing on the other side of the
 “ *Alps*, in some of your western regions of *Europe* :
 “ it is said to be likely to travel still further
 “ westward ; to those distant countries beyond the
 “ *Atlantic* ocean, which I suppose are the same
 “ with the famous great islands, about which I
 “ remember to have heard the priests of *Sais* dis-
 “ coursing with *Plato*.

“ PERHAPS by some future generation I shall
 “ be removed from my present basis ; and em-
 “ barked on a voyage to the shores of that western
 “ world, to adorn the streets of some stately city,
 “ the foundations of which are not yet laid.

“ SOME of the descendants of your great grand-
 “ children may perhaps see me there. But your
 “ eyes, O ye present youthful generation, will
 “ soon be closed : your bones, with the coffins
 “ which shall contain them, will be soon reduced
 “ to dust : O how short do the days of man ap-
 “ pear to me ? The time of your existence is as
 “ nothing. —

THE *Genius* of the obelisk now proceeded to
 some further reflections on the brevity of human
 life. — But I am not able properly to repeat
 them to the company. From my lips they will
 sound merely like common-place reflections : as
 spoken

spoken by the obelisk, you may imagine they had a much more powerful effect.

CRITO's pupil now rolled up his paper ; and to prevent any compliments from his friends, (who he knew would be *partial* in his favour) proposed to step into the coach again.

THE young nobleman told the coachman to drive to the church of *St. Lorenzo*.

IN the way to that part of the *Campus Martius*, the eldest of the young gentlemen conversed much with his noble friend on the successive rise and fall of many seats of science, *Thebes*, *Memphis*, *Alexandria*, *Babylon*, *Athens*, and *Rome* : not without bestowing on his own country the fond patriotic wish, *Esto perpetua* ! Words worthy to be the dying speech of a better person.

HE was repeating those two words with emphatic warmth, when the coach stopt. *Crito* then led the company into a little back court, in which they saw that obelisk, to which, as to an eternal monument, the great *Sesostris* in some measure intrusted the preservation of the history of his glory ; inscribing on it the extent of his empire, and the number of his tributary nations. They saw it overturned ; broken in several fragments ; half covered with human dung ; and proportionally in

as

as low a state of ruin and humiliation as the glory of its founder was ever exalted : that proud and insolent man, who so arrogantly stiled himself, *king of kings*, and *lord of lords*.

Two of its sides are entirely maimed and obliterated by fire : injuries repeatedly received in the times of *Cambyfes*, *Totilas*, and *Robert of Normandy*. On the other two sides and on its top are several inscriptions and figures, which may justly be thought the most antient sculptures extant in the whole world *. They are of such excellent workmanship as plainly to demonstrate that the *Greek* and *Roman* art of sculpture was founded on the primæval arts of *Egypt*. These figures and inscriptions have been, for many centuries past, utterly unintelligible.

THE same fate attends all the other monuments in *Upper Egypt*. For though their materials and fabric seem capable of an eternal duration, yet owing to this defect, they have not been able to preserve with certitude even the names of most of their founders.—These were the reflections of the young nobleman.

PERHAPS,

* The extreme antiquity of this obelisk will appear to the reader in a stronger light, when he recollects, that it was hewn into its present shape before any of the pyramids were built. According to *Pliny*, this obelisk was the work of *Sesostris* : and according to all the *Greek* historians, *Sesostris* was prior in antiquity to *Cheops*, *Cephren*, or any of the builders of the pyramids.

PERHAPS, added he, the time may come when that *Latin* inscription (which *Augustus* has engraved on this basis, and which seems as fresh as if the sculptor had finished it but last week *) may be grown as unintelligible as these hieroglyphic characters.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these sentiments, *Crito* stood for some time in silence, fixing his eyes on the vast ruins of the shaft of the obelisk.

Is not this, said he, a strong emblem of the vanity of the greatest human grandeur? Such is become the monument and memorial of the proudest of kings! How awful is this spectacle? and how instructive, instructive not only to the philosophic moralist, but even to the most humble and mortified saint?

BUT what, (continued he, after another short but solemn pause) what is become of the empire of *Egypt* itself?

RUINED, like this obelisk; and fallen never to rise again.

AN

* This inscription on the basis of this obelisk is to the same effect as that on the basis of the obelisk at the *Porta del Popolo*.

AN example for ever to mankind, that no excellence of situation, (for *Egypt* was almost as well situated as any *island*) no degree of populousness or power, of wealth or science, is able to secure a nation from ruin and perpetual servitude ; whenever (as was the case in the decline of *Egypt*) the people shall for the love of luxury quit the love of virtue ; and the governors shall think wisdom to be consistent with self-interest and pride : thus despising God, and injuring mankind ; instead of labouring with joy, as benefactors to their fellow-creatures, and as dutiful servants to their great and common CREATOR.

SAYING this, *Crito* looked with his usual kindness on his pupil, and repeated to him the following most poetic lines of the *Hebrew* prophet ; leaving him to judge, to which of the *great modern* cities of the world they might be most applicable.

*Art thou better than the populous city of Ammon?
She that was seated among the waters.
The river of Egypt was her defence.
The sea was her dominion and riches.
Lybia and Afric were her helpers :
Æthiopia and Egypt were her infinite strength.
Yet even she went into captivity :
Even she was destroyed utterly.*

O MY

O MY dear pupil, though I am no prophet, yet let me contemplate in imagination the *probable* history of future ages.

Two thousand years hence, some foreigners will perhaps be going up the *Thames* in search of antiquities, in the same manner as *Norden* lately went up the *Nile*.

SAILING by the ruins of *Greenwich*, they will look to *Flamstead's* hill; they will recollect the name of *Newton*, and of other antient *English* astronomers: *How is this island degenerated?* they will perhaps add; *it has not at present one school of mathematics, or natural philosophy, in any of its provinces.*

ROWING then along the wide-spread desolation of *London*, they will pass through some arches of its broken bridges standing in the middle of the stream. On the grassy shore they will view with admiration the still remaining portico of *St. Paul's*, and perhaps one of the towers of *Westminster Abbey*. They will land there; and be shewn the pool of water, where *Westminster Hall*, and the Parliament Houses stood. They will enquire in vain for *St. James's* palace: in searching for it in a wrong place, they will accidentally discover the portico of *St. Martin's* (then again) *in the Fields;*

Fields ; they will find its columns half buried in the earth.

If they continue their voyage up the *Thames*, they will pass close by the situation of the brick palace at *Hampton-Court*, without knowing it. Advanced some leagues further, they will see from their boat the stately remains of *Windsor-Castle* : but they will not perhaps venture to land, for fear of falling into the hands of the wild inhabitants of the neighbouring woods. The same fear will damp their desire and design of venturing so far as to the much celebrated, but little known, ruins of *Oxford*.

Do you really think, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the *English* will ever grow as wild as the *Arabs* or the *Nubians* ?

It is by no means impossible, replied *Crito* ; length of time, and variety of events, may gradually produce such a change. The *English* nation two thousand years hence may very possibly be in the same state of savage barbarism, in which it is said to have been two thousand years ago :

Rursus & in veterem fato revoluta figuram.

BUT

BUT let us think of retiring to our lodgings. The sun is set, and the dangerous evening damps of this country begin to make themselves felt. Let us take care, what care we can, of these our frail bodies. Notwithstanding all our care, they will (as you, my dear pupil, have reminded us) soon be dissolved into their original dust.

CHAP. III.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*Cedes coemptis saltubus, & domo,
Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit:*

*Cedes, & extructis in altum
Divitiis potietur hæres.*

*Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest an pauper, & infimâ
De gente sub dio moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.*

*Omnes eodem cogimur ; omnium
Versatur urnâ seriùs ocyùs
Sors exitura, &c.*

THE mausolæum of *Augustus* was built in the *Campus Martius* ; fronting (though at some distance) the *Pantheon* of *Agrippa*. It was of a circular shape, and nearly of the same size with that noble temple.

THE walls, though not the roof, of this mausolæum, are still remaining. The circular space

within the walls is one hundred and seventy feet in diameter, and is at present a garden filled with orange trees and other fragrant evergreens.

IN this garden *Crito* was sitting with his pupil in the morning of *June 19th*, and attending to him while reading the above lines of *Horace*; when seeing the other two young gentlemen enter the gate, he rose to meet them.

BEFORE the company began their usual morning lecture, they took several turns together around and across the garden.

AFTER some agreeable talk on various subjects, *Crito's* pupil led their attention to the beauty of the flowers, and of the shrubs among which they were walking.—These, said he, are at present the only ornaments remaining of this imperial mausolæum. Perhaps some of these plants may be the descendants of those which flourished here in the times of *Strabo* *. Such cheerfully-looking plants and flowers seem indeed not improper embellishments for the mansions of death.

I HAVE

* Αξιολογώτατον το Μανυσολειον καλεῖται, ἐπὶ κρητὶς λευκο-
λιδυ πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὠμα, ἀχρι κορυφῆς τοῖς αἰδέεσσιν τῶν
δένδρων κατηρσες. Lib. v. p. 236.

I HAVE often thought, while walking in the neat church-yard belonging to my father's village, that it is right to take such methods of abating the gloominess of the grave, and of softening its natural horror.

THESE fragrant myrtles, these shining-leaved laurels, may be considered, as if planted here on purpose to serve as *emblems of the memory of the departed*. They may be considered also, as representing the *immortality* of the soul.

I COULD wish, my dear pupil, replied *Crito*, that among your poetic works at *Rome*, you would favour me with an ode to *Euthanasia*, or (if you have a mind to express that idea by another phrase) the *Genius of good Death*.

IN relation to mortality in general, *Horace* will suggest to you several elegant reflections; though I do not suppose, you will chuse to follow his path of thought, in the inferences which he usually draws from those reflections.

You may find other classical assistance. *Virgil* sometimes considered death in a much better light than *Horace*: for (notwithstanding *Horace's* many social virtues) *Virgil* was certainly a much better man. You will recollect, I am sure with pleasure,

the lines of the fourth Æneid, in which *Iris* is described as engaged in the benign and gracious office of the Genius of death.

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficilemque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.—
Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roscida pennis
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
Devolvat, & suprà caput astitit: Hunc ego diti
Sactum jussa sero, teque isto corpore solvo.*

You will wish, for the sake of the greater propriety of this passage, that *Dido's* life had been more virtuous, and her death in particular much more holy. In such a case, this beautiful description of *Iris* would have answered your ideas of a guardian angel descending from heaven to release a soul struggling in her last agonies of mortality, and to disengage her from her encumbering dust.

INDEED, when you contemplate those consolations and overflowing joys, which make the hour of death most sweet to *good* men, you will (I should apprehend) disdain to draw up your ode in the mean stile of heathen poetry: you will much more gladly follow the soaring ideas of some Christian writers:

writers : you will dedicate your ode, not to the *Genius*, but to the *Angel of good death*.

You will paint that angel descending in radiant splendor to visit the couch of the expiring saint. You will place round that couch Charity, Hope, and true Faith, with her crosses.

——— *ea sola voluptas,*
Solamenque mali.

You will perhaps attempt to describe the departing spirit just freed from its flesh, and following this blessed company in their re-ascent to heaven. You may form some happy and pious ideas, fit for that purpose, from the picture (which our noble young friend lately taught us to admire in the *Capitoline gallery*) the *Anima Beata* of Guido *.

I SHOULD be very glad, replied the modest youth, to obey your commands. But the subject is too good, and too great. I cannot venture on it. Such an ode would be a very proper conclusion and crown to the labours of a pious grey-headed

H 3 poet ;

* *Le dessein de la figure est de la plus grande correction : sur son visage brille cette sérénité, cette douce satisfaction, que l'on doit éprouver aux approches d'un bonheur inaltérable. — C'est une des compositions les plus sçavantes du Guide — l'action en est très-simple, & en même tems très-poétique.* Abbe Richard. v. 6. p. 27.

poet ; whose long life has been spent in following the dictates of true faith and charity, and in looking forward to its end with devout hope. But I am neither worthy nor capable of the employment. It is much better to be silent, than to talk on so important a topic in a trifling and improper manner ; as I certainly should do.

THE company now sat down near a spreading orange-tree. They admired its beauty. The eldest of the young gentlemen began to make a comparison between this plant, the branches of which were loaded at once with the productions of *all* the seasons in the year, buds, flowers, and fruit ; and this mausolæum, which has the honour of containing the remains of many worthies who died young, middle-aged, and old, in all the various seasons of human life.

HAPPY is it for you, my dear young friends, replied *Crito*, that there are none of these productions (whether on the tree, or gathered) sweeter than the bud. *Marcellus's* virtue, both in life and death, was full as sweet and lovely as that of *Agrippa* himself.

* * *

MARCELLUS.

MARCELLUS.

*Nor love thy life, nor hate. But what thou liv'st,
Live well. How long or short, permit to heav'n.*

MILTON.

MARCELLUS, nephew and son-in-law to *Augustus*, and his declared successor to the imperial throne of *Rome*, was suddenly removed by death from all this possession and prospect of grandeur. He was cropt in the very flower of his youth, when scarce twenty years of age.

YET had he made so good an use of his time, as to have then already gained the affection and esteem of mankind to a very considerable degree.

FOR, though during the age of *Augustus*, (which was certainly in some respects a very splendid epocha of the *Roman* history) several truly great characters appeared; some of which (*Agrippa's* in particular) may more justly demand our admiration; yet none of them has been regarded, either in that or in succeeding times, with such general love, as the memory of this amiable young man,

AMOR erat populi Romani.

IN thinking of the amiable character and immature fate of *Marcellus*, I have often, said the young nobleman, recollected Prince *Henry*, elder brother of *Charles* the First. But pray proceed.

IN meditating on the character of *Marcellus*, replied *Crito*, I have often also recollected some modern characters : particularly one of a young nobleman of my acquaintance. May his life be much longer than that of *Marcellus* : but may he continue to resemble him in every other particular ! For *Marcellus*'s person was naturally very beautiful : it was improved in gracefulness as well as strength by his perfection in all youthful exercises.

HIS mind was still more great and noble. *Animo alacer erat : ingenio potens.*

BUT these qualifications, whether of *body* or of *understanding*, were but trifling in comparison of those of his *heart*. *Adolescens patiens erat laboris ; voluptatibus alienus ; frugalitatis & continentiae in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandus.*

ALL

ALL his actions were full of wisdom, of courage, of modesty, of affability, of kindness.

THERE was nothing indeed kind or good, which *Augustus's* subjects did not hope from *Marcellus's* government. *Fortunæ erat, in quam alebatur, capax.*

No wonder, that his bier was followed by such general lamentations.

Mater Octavia nullum finem per omne vitæ suæ tempus flendi gemendique fecit. Lugubrem vestem nunquam deposuit. Intenta in unam rem (memoriam scilicet carissimi filii) & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit qualis in funere.

BUT *Augustus* suffered by this great loss in a double capacity; as a relation, and as a Roman.

In Marcellum enim Augustus incumbere cæperat: in Marcellum onus imperii reclinare. Laturus enim erat Marcellus quantumcunque illi avunculus imponere, & ut ita dicam inædificare voluisset. Bene enim legerat nulli cessura ponderi fundamenta.

THIS elogium was drawn by the pen of *Seneca* *, many years after the death of *Marcellus*,
when

* Consol. ad Martiam.

when there could be no temptation for any court-flattery to his memory. It greatly confirms the truth of many passages, which we find in the poets of the *Augustan age*, relative to *Marcellus's* merit.

I REMEMBER some passages of that kind in *Horace's* works. Perhaps there may be some also in *Ovid*. *Virgil* (as my pupil thinks) seems to have shadowed out the amiable character of *Marcellus* under those of *Pallas* and *Euryalus*: however that may be, he certainly introduces an express most noble panegyrick on his memory in those famous verses of the sixth *Æneid*, which seem to have been breathed forth with the spirit of the most sincere grief, as well as of the sweetest poetry.

THE grief of *Augustus* seems indeed to have been really shadowed out under that of *Anchises* in those lines.

——— *Manibus date lilia plenis*
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere.

AUGUSTUS honoured *Marcellus's* memory with the most solemn funeral rites; he spoke himself the funeral oration. He spoke it, *non quidem*
solitâ

solitâ suâ promptâ ac profluenti eloquentiâ *; doubtless it was interrupted by frequent sighs and groans, rising as well from the surrounding multitude, as from the orator's own breast.

AUGUSTUS then with his own hands placed the urn in *this* mausolæum. He had built this beautiful mausolæum for the reception of the urns of his family, and friends. He in particular had declared, that he would not even after his death be separated from those two persons, *Agrippa* and *Marcellus*, whom in his life he had so highly esteemed, and so tenderly loved †.

* * *

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now fixed his eyes on the ground, and seemed busy in some recollection.

PARDON me, said he, for interrupting you, by introducing a topic in some measure foreign from your present discourse. *Voltaire* (in that part of his *Henriade*, where he describes the spirit of *St. Lewis* shewing to *Henry* the Fourth all the yet unborn heroes and worthies of the *French* nation) has
very

* *Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. c. 3.*

† See *Dio. p. 541.*

very closely imitated this passage in *Virgil*, and very properly applied it to that amiable youthful prince the Duke of *Burgundy*.

*Quel est ce jeune prince, en qui la Majesté
Sur son visage amiable éclate sans fierté ?
D'un œil d'indifference il regarde le Trone.
Ciel ! quelle nuit soudaine a mes yeux l'environne !
La Mort autour de lui vole sans s'arrêter.
Il tombe aux pieds du Trone, étant prêt d'y monter.
O mon fils, des François vous voyez le plus juste :
Les cieux le formeront de votre sang auguste.
Grands Dieux ! ne faites vous que montrer aux
humains
Cette fleur passagere, ouvrage de vos mains ?
Helas ! que n'eut point fait cette ame vertueuse ?
La France sous son regne eut été trop heureuse.
Il eut entretenu l'abondance & la paix :
Mon fils ! Il eut compté ses jours par ses bienfaits.
Il eut aimé son peuple. —*

— O jours remplis d'alarmes
O combien les François vont repandre des larmes,
Quand sous le même tombe ils verront réunis
Et l'époux & la femme, & la mere & le fils !

WHEN I was at *Paris* I took frequent morning airings in my chaise towards *Vincennes* and *St. Denis* : and in those airings read over these lines of *Voltaire* so often as to imprint them thoroughly on my memory.

LOUIS

LOUIS le Grand is said to have been in several respects a second *Augustus*. They were both examples certainly of the vanity and weakness of the greatest human grandeur. *Louis* strongly resembled *Augustus* in his family misfortunes at that melancholy time, when so many funeral cars were closely following each other along the avenue leading to St. Dennis; bearing the beloved Duke of *Burgundy*, and many others of the royal family.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to read to you from my papers of notes some elegant verses of *Albinovanus* relative to these misfortunes of *Augustus*. Far am I from recommending his poem in general to your perusal: (the flattery of some parts of it is very impious) but only some extracts from it. They seem to have been composed by *Albinovanus* on this very spot, where we are now conversing.

Condidit Agrippam quo te Marcelle sepulchro

Et cepit generos jam locus iste duos.

Vix posito Agrippâ tumuli bene janua clausa est

Perficit officium funeris ecce soror.

Ecce ter ante datis jaçtura novissima Drusus

A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.

Claudite jam, Parcæ, nimum referata sepulchra!

Claudite! plus justo jam domus ista patet.

CRITO'S

CRITO's pupil now rose from his seat, and took a short turn by himself in the garden.

THE company followed him. How often, my dear friends, said he to them, have we surveyed together the sepulchres of our *English* princes in *Westminster Abbey*? How often have we stood by the monument of *Edward*'s royal consort? How often have we walked over the dust of that excellent queen *Matilda*; who lies near *Edward* the Confessor's tomb, tho' without any grave-stone to mark the place. Scarce less pleasing is the melancholy which now spreads itself over the mind, while we are recollecting the amiable characters of several persons *here* interred? I mean those eminently virtuous princes, whose names you just now mentioned, and who sleep under the orange-trees and beds of flowers, among which we are now walking. Let us not survey this garden with a careless eye, nor tread it inattentively. Perhaps under these dew-besprinkled violets the good *Octavia* may be reposing.

*Gentle Lady, may thy grave,
Peace and honour ever have.*

You remember, my dear friend, the description of that beautiful myrtle which flourished from
the

the tomb of *Aristonous* *; perhaps in some of these myrtles *Agrippa's* ashes may really vegetate.

PERHAPS that sweet half-opened rose, to which you were just now smelling without cropping it, may have its root in the urn of *Drusus* or *Germanicus*.

CRITO's pupil now took out of his pocket a small volume of *English* poems, and read to the company the following lines.

*Perhaps unknowing of the bloom it gives
In yon fair scyon of Apollo's tree
The sacred dust of young Marcellus lives.
Pluck not the leaf: 'twere sacrilege to wound
Th'ideal memory of so sweet a shade.
In these sad seats an early grave he found,
And the first rites to gloomy Dis conveyed.*

O lost

* See the charming adventures of *Aristonous*, which are generally printed at the end of those of *Telemachus*.

Une mirte d'une verdure & d'une odeur exquise naquit au milieu du tombeau, & éleva sa tête touffue pour couvrir les deux urnes de ses rameaux & de son ombre. Chacun s'écria qu'*Aristonous* en récompense de sa vertu avoit été changé par les Dieux en un arbre si beau. *Sophonime* prit soin de l'arroser lui-même, & de l'honorer comme une divinité. Cet arbre loin de vieillir se renouvelle de dix ans en dix ans: & les Dieux ont voulu faire voir par cette merveille que la vertu, qui jette un si doux parfum dans la mémoire des hommes, ne meurt jamais.

*O lost too soon! Yet why lament a fate
By thousands envy'd, and by heav'n approv'd*?*

SUCH lamentations are indeed very improper: as I remember my father observed to my mother some years ago, when they were recovering from their deep affliction on the death of my good younger brother. Man, (said he as he was sitting with her near my brother's picture) short-sighted man ought to adore with reverence and thankfulness all the wise and gracious disposals of Providence. We see indeed frequently removed from this world in early youth those persons who seem likely to do great good and to enjoy great happiness here. Yet let us not complain too much: we are certain that good persons are much happier in the other world than in this: and we may be confident, that God will never want instruments of his beneficence here. In saying these words, my father kindly took me and my little sister in his arms.

CRITO now cast a look of affectionate tenderness on his pupil; and how much more pleasing, said he, are your ideas than those on which I was ruminating?

I WAS imagining, *that I saw Augustus* bear the urn of *Marcellus* into this mausolæum.

WITH

* *Unde scis an diutius illi vivere expedierit? An illi hac morte consultum?* (SENECA ad Martiam.)

WITH what earnestness must *Augustus* then have secretly wished, that he had lived and died like *Marcellus*? How deeply, in the bitterness of conscience, must he then have reflected on the great difference of his own youthful years, from those of his happy nephew?

THE extreme wickedness of *Augustus*'s youth must always have been a most heavy burthen on his mind. It is true, that there were some alleviations of this otherwise intollerable weight: it is true, that for the last forty years of his life, he was diligent in doing good.

SEVERAL political writers imagine the whole life of *Augustus* to have been ruled by one mean principle, the scheme of obtaining and securing to himself the sovereign authority: that the crimes of his youth were perpetrated to obtain this power, and that the good works of his later years were performed merely to secure himself in it. But an ecclesiastic can scarce be of that opinion; he cannot think it possible, that any man, engaged in a long course of beneficence, (though perhaps he might enter on that course not from the best motives) should be able to avoid being at length captivated by a *sincere* love of virtue, and converted to it from his *heart*.

WITH pleasure let us recollect some of the many instances of beneficence, with which the years of *Augustus's* manhood and old age were adorned.

HE encouraged *population*; that first work of a good government. *Neceſſe eſt enim, ut naſcantur homines, priuſquàm felices fiant.*

HE was ambitious to ſupport the general peace of mankind. *Janum quater clauſit.*

HE wiſely placed the glory of his government in works of beneficence. Through how many cities have we travelled, which were built by *Augustus*? How often have we met with remains of his other public ſtructures? Let us recollect what were our ſentiments on this ſubject when at *Treves* or *Auſburg*; when at *Autun* or *Turin*; and ſince our arrival in *Italy*, while travelling along the ſea-coaſt near *Rimini*, and *Pefaro*.

IN theſe great works of national utility, *Augustus* ſeems to have imitated the generoſity and public ſpirit of his noble friend and counſellor *Agrippa*.

I REMEMBER, ſaid the young nobleman, ſome of the reflections with which you favoured us in viſiting *Augustus's* bridge at *Narni*. You there

there compared *Augustus* in those works to a late emperor of *China*.

THAT *Chinese* emperor, replied *Crito*, was in several respects a very worthy prince : he was a protector of the Christians *. But let us at present confine ourselves to *Augustus*.

MUCH of the felicity, which was enjoyed by mankind in this part of the world, during *Augustus*'s reign, is doubtless to be attributed to his beneficent government. It conveyed many blessings to the inhabitants of this city, and of this country, and probably also to all the provinces and allies of the *Roman* empire.

LET me with particular pleasure observe, that *Augustus* enacted several laws tending to the reformation of manners : that he very diligently and mercifully himself administered justice : that he was also very careful in preserving public plenty ; according to that boasted maxim of *Venetian* policy : *Giustizia sempre in palazzo, e pane in piazza*.

I 2

THAT

* The emperor *Cambi* (who died in 1722) in his last testament congratulated himself on the vast sums he had expended during his reign in making new canals, new dykes, new roads, and other public works. In looking over his accounts he had found to his great joy, that the whole sums he had expended on his own palace did not amount to the hundredth part of what he had laid out in works of utility to his subjects.

Political Annals of Abbé St. Pierre. 1725.

THAT *Augustus* greatly promoted *literature*, is perhaps comparatively but a *trifling* consideration. For as in private life, it will be much more laudable for you, my dear pupil, to be daily employed in giving bread to the poor families in your neighbourhood, than to be amusing yourself in your library by the prosecution of any learned or elegant composition; so in the occupations of a prince, the support of public plenty is ten thousand times more useful and truly honourable than the patronage of learning.

ON entering this garden about half an hour ago, said the young nobleman, I stopt for some moments to look at the antique statue of *Plenty*, which stands by the door, with her cornucopiæ. My political friend, who was with me, thought that statue very fortunately and properly placed at the entrance of *Augustus's* mausolæum.

I REMEMBER very well, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, the *Venetian* proverb, which your good tutor mentions. I thought frequently of it during our voyage from *Venice* to *Pola*.

How pleasantly, replied *Crito's* pupil, did we pass our time at *Pola*? We sat down, I remember, between the four columns of the portico of that temple which is inscribed, *ROMÆ & Augusto Cæsari*

sari Patri Patriæ. You there employed an hour in perusing (not without some tears of pleasure) the account given by *Suetonius* of the many testimonies of ardent affection, which *Augustus* received from his grateful people. The inhabitants of *Rome*, the busy multitudes which then swarmed in the cities of *Italy*, and over every part of its fruitful hills and plains, all united in the love of their sovereign. The other subjects of the *Roman* empire, settled in the various continents of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*, all joined their justly-merited thanks for his goodness in *bene gerendâ per terrarum orbem republicâ.*

THE navigators of the *Mediterranean*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, were not less sensible of the general happiness. As the whole circuit of its shores was then subject to *Rome*, and as the whole *Roman* empire was then united in peace under *Augustus*, commerce consequently had in general no enemy to fear. The fleets, stationed by *Augustus* at *Frejus*, *Miseno*, and *Ravenna*, were always ready to suppress any unforeseen troubles.

THE greatest branch of the *Roman* commerce was that with *Egypt* *. *Augustus* seems to have given peculiar attention to its cultivation and improvement. I think *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus*

I 3 in

* See the late edition of *Harris's Voyages*, book i. chap. 2. sections 8, 9, 10.

in the last year of his reign visited the sea-coast at *Baia* and *Puteoli*. He went thither perhaps with some small expectation, that the waters might be of service to a constitution naturally weak, and then particularly enfeebled by a distemper, which (together with the weight of years) was sinking him to his grave. During his residence there, he must have found great amusement in viewing the *Lucrine* port, and the haven near *Miseno*, the works of his departed friend *Agrippa*; works, in which indeed they were *both* engaged during very troublesome times. But while *Augustus* was thus amusing himself, a large ship from *Alexandria* came into the harbour with full sails *.

THE crew, hearing that their emperor was then in that port, gladly seized this opportunity of expressing their loyalty and gratitude to him, under whose mild and wise government peace and commerce had long flourished. *Per illum se vivere : per illum navigare ; libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.*

WITH what pleasure must *Augustus* have listened to those acclamations? With what sparkling eyes must he have seen the mariners hanging garlands of

* In relation to the appearance of the *Alexandrian* ships, when entering the harbour of *Baia*, see *Seneca's* Epist. 77.

Gratus illarum (navium Alexandrinarum) Campaniæ aspectus est ; omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit, &c.

of flowers on the prow, on the poop, on all the masts, and yard-arms of their vessel; while the smooth haven of *Baix* echoed to the sound of their harps and flutes? From the deck a cloud of incense arose to heaven, offered for the preservation of their sovereign's life, and for the long continuance of his benign reign.

PARDON me for troubling you with the repetition of this story. Indeed, whenever I recollect it, I am sensible of fresh pleasure. As an *Englishman*, I find myself always peculiarly interested in the sentiments of the sea-faring part of mankind.

THE first time I read this story was about two years ago, when I was at *Margate* in the Isle of *Thanet*, attending my father who was advised by his physicians to bathe there.

I REMEMBER I then heartily wished that his majesty (our late good old King *George II.*) had been at that time desired by his physicians to visit the same place.

IF such had been the case, his majesty would perhaps have made use of that opportunity to visit the grand newly-erected pier at the neighbouring shore of *Ramsgate*. He certainly would have taken frequent airings on the cliffs between *Margate*

and the *North Foreland*, and surveyed from thence the wide extended mouth of his *Thames*. Perhaps some large fleet of *English* merchantmen might have then arrived from *Asia* or *America*. Hearing that their good old king was on that coast, they would have spread all their colours to the wind; sounded their trumpets, and fired their guns. The crews would have saluted their sovereign with repeated cheers. Cheerful indeed would have been that sound: the applauses of a grateful people would have been far more cordial to his royal breast, than any medicinal prescription.

BUT let me not any longer interrupt you, continued he, turning to *Crito*: you were speaking of the goodness of *Augustus*. I should be sorry if I have hindered my friends from listening to any of your observations on so pleasing a topic.

THE topic is indeed very pleasing, replied *Crito*, making some pause; yet I must add, that on fully considering the whole history of *Augustus*, there necessarily rises a reflection; which is far from being equally agreeable, though it seems highly important and instructive.

THAT part of *Augustus's* life, which is generally considered as its *good* part, comprehends (as was just now observed) about forty years: a space of
time

time equal to the whole rational and active life of the generality of mankind.

THE power of *Augustus* in doing good far exceeded that of the greatest sovereigns in modern *Europe*.

By a course of wise beneficence *so long* and *so powerfully* exerted, it is natural to imagine, that *Augustus* must have acquired a very splendid name, a very true kind of glory*.

YET surely *Augustus* ought never to have entertained any hopes, that the horrid crimes of his youth (however atoned for in the sight of heaven) could even by these means be totally effaced from the memory of men. Succeeding generations have and will always look on the history of his life with hatred and detestation, tho' mixed with admiration, tho' mixed with pity.

THIS is a melancholy reflection. The same, alas! is the case in private stations. The crimes of youth sometimes continue an indelible stain throughout life: the best conduct in manhood and old age will not be sufficient totally to regain the favour of mankind. Yet let not such persons be too much dispirited. Let them lay aside indeed all thoughts

* In relation to *Augustus's* clemency, see *Seneca, Lipsius's* Edition, p. 194, 196.

thoughts of reputation and honour ; but let them fervently pray, pray without ceasing, that their penitence may at length be favourably accepted by the most gracious, the most merciful of all Beings.

CRITO now turned his eyes swimming in tears to his young companions. Happy, said he, happy are you, my dear friends, who have it in your power to begin your lives in the best, in the most complete virtue : and thus to lay the most solid, the most broad foundation for the comfort, happiness, and splendor, *without one flaw* of whatever may be the remainder of your days ; whether by the mercy of heaven, you may be removed soon to a better state ; or whether you may have it in your power by a longer life here to add daily to the happiness of others, and to your own virtues.

ON the whole, what should be your highest wish ? First, that your youth may continue to be as virtuous as the youth of *Marcellus* ; and then, that you may either add to it the goodness of the middle and latter years of *Augustus*, or else die soon. May you die long before you do any thing to stain your glory and your virtue !

*Death, that does sin and sorrow thus prevent,
Is the next blessing to a life well spent.*

Μη δῆτα, μη δῆτ', Ω Θεῶν ἄγνων σεβας,

Ἰδοίμι ταύτην ἡμέραν' ἀλλ' ἐκ βροτῶν

Βαίην ἀφαντῶ τοπρίν, ἢ τοιαυτὸν ἰδεῖν

Κηλὶδ' ἐμαυτῷ συμφορὰς ἀφ' ἑγμένην.

* * *

THE company now walked out of the mausoleum; and stepping into the coach, told the coachman to drive to *Marcellus's* theatre.

THE present state of the theatre of *Marcellus* is so very well known to all persons who have read any travels to *Rome*, or looked over any collection of prints representing its antiquities, that it is needless to insert here any description of that grand structure.

SUFFICE it to observe only, that the young nobleman and the rest of the company in viewing it, frequently admired the beauty of its architecture, but much more frequently thought of the merit of that virtuous prince, in whose honour it was erected.

* * *

CRITO

CRITO now taking out his watch, and finding it as yet to be but early in the day, proposed, that they should take this opportunity of visiting the arch of *Drusus* : it is situate in a very remote part of *Rome* ; but we are, said he, in this place, half way on our road thither.

THE company readily agreed to the proposal : they proceeded on their morning airing towards that arch, passing under the western side of mount *Palatine*.

THEY looked up with admiration to the pompous ruins of the imperial palace.

OF how much sorrow, said *Crito*, was this *Palatine* hill in *Augustus's* time the seat ? How was the highest degree of human grandeur then embittered by the most heart-felt disappointment and grief ? Under the repetition of how many domestic misfortunes did *Augustus* there groan ? You remember the flattering lines of *Albinovanus*.

*Cæsar*is adde domum : quæ certè funeris experts
Debit humanis altior esse malis.

Ille vigil, summâ sacer ille locatus in arce
Res hominum ex tuto cernere dignus erat.
Nec fieri ipse suis, nec quenquam flere suorum
Nec quæ nos patimur vulgus & ipse pati.

Was

Was this the case? Ah! no. Even his most severe enemies might have pitied him, while crying out,

Αἰδ' ὀφελου ἄγουσ' εἶμεναι, ἄγαμ' τ' ἀπολεῖσθαι.

BESIDES all other sorrow, he saw his sister the excellent *Octavia* die of long grief for the loss of her beloved *Marcellus*: he saw his wife *Livia* burying her only good son *Drusus*; *Drusus*, who next to *Marcellus*, is generally described to be one of the most amiable youths of his time, and the most deservedly regretted by his family and country: *Tiberius* in the mean time surviving *Drusus*, for the punishment of his country, in the same manner as *Julia*, for that of her family, survived both *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*.

AT some distance from mount *Palatine*, between the *Cælian* and *Aventine* hills, stands the arch of *Drusus*. Its top is overgrown with moss and shrubs, but its sides are still adorned with two rich marble columns.

THE young nobleman, in viewing this monument of the memory of *Drusus**, recollected what he had heard

* *Primum fuisse Drusum, cui mortuo arcus dicatus sit observat Norisius, Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 412. sq. See Reimar's edit. of Dion. Cass. p. 772.*

This arch is represented on some of the medals of *Drusus*.

heard and seen relative to the same *Roman* prince in his passage thro' *Lorraine* and *France*, particularly at *Metz* and *Lyons*. At *Metz*, said he, I think there are several beautiful remains of antiquity, which are ascribed to him : but it was at *Lyons*, that *Drusus* by his most engaging behaviour established peace and tranquillity through all the extensive regions of the *Gauls* : it was at *Lyons*, then the capital and metropolis of that country, that he erected the famous monument of the concord of sixty *Gallic* states, and of his own dutiful respect to his father *Augustus* ; I mean the altar and temple *, which was built near the conflux of the *Soane* and *Rhone*.

CRITO's pupil, who had taken the route of *Holland* and the *Low Countries*, recollected the noble monument, which is *there* remaining of his wisdom, and greatness of mind ; the canal †, which
this

* Of that structure there are to this day remaining two stately columns of *Egyptian* granite. They may be seen in the church of *D'Enay*, which stands near the point of the conflux, and probably on the very spot on which the antient altar of *Augustus* was placed. These two granite columns seem to be of the same sort and size with those in *Agrippa's* portico at the *Pantheon* : but they are now sawn in sunder, and divided in four pillars, which support the small dome of that church. As for their original form, position, and use, several medals may be consulted.

† This canal extended from *Ijeloort* to *Doezburg* : (which town was antiently called *Drusus's-Burgh*) it joined the *Rhine* to the *Iffel*, as well as to many of the *Batavian* lakes, and
through

this adoptive son of *Augustus*, with a truly imperial design, and in the spirit of the antient wisdom of *Egypt*, cut in *Holland*, that beautiful *European Delta*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen, who had passed some time in *Germany*, particularly in the provinces on the *Rhine*, with pleasure added, that above fifty *German* towns, which now cover the banks of that great river, all owe their foundation to the wisdom of *Drusus*. They derive their origin, said he, from the several stations, which *Drusus* prudently chose for his encampments in those then wild and uncultivated regions. Such was the origin of *Strasburg*; such of *Mentz*. I remember seeing at *Mentz* the ruins of an antient trophy or cenotaph* erected to the honour of *Drusus*. It stands on the highest spot of ground in the citadel, exactly fronting the conflux of the *Rhine* and *Main*. With great satisfaction I viewed from thence the prospect of that beautiful country, which is now the garden of *Germany*, watered by those two noble rivers: a prospect, I suppose, in some measure analogous

through them to the northern *German* ocean. It is not improbable that *Peter* the Great, while in *Holland*, might attentively consider this great work, and from thence take the hint of several similar and still more noble designs for the uniting of the rivers, lakes, and seas, in his own vast dominions.

* Ελαβε (Δρυσος) τιμὴν κενοταφίῳ περὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Πηγῷ.

Dio Cassius, lib. 55. p. 772.

analogous to that which you, my noble friend, have seen from the hills near *Lyons*.

How happy is it, dear sir, (continued he, turning to *Crito*) when the works of war are thus mixed and tempered with the works of peace; when, by the benevolence of Providence, so much good is produced even in the midst and from the greatest evils? May such be the consolatory consequences of our present *North American* wars! May the *British* Generals in the New World become there the founders of as many cities, as *Alexander*, or his imitator *Seleucus* *; as *Augustus*, or this his noble imitator *Drusus*, have been in the Old!

BUT why am I thus talking? I am sure, dear sir, that you have some paper on the character of *Drusus*, with which you intend to favour us in this place.

I HAVE indeed a very short paper of notes on that subject, replied *Crito*, and I have brought you to this place on that account. But though this triumphal arch of *Drusus* be a proper object for awakening our curiosity in relation to his history; yet the place is by no means convenient for a studious lecture: you see it stands on a great public road.

IF

* *Seleucus* built no less than forty cities in *Asia*.

IF you please, we will return to your lodgings. We will return thither by the way of the temple of *Minerva Medica*: we shall have time enough before dinner for making that tour.

* * *

THE company now turned down from the great road into the solitary rural lanes of the *Celian* hill. They passed by the ruins of that great aqueduct which was built by a son of *Drusus*. They crossed over to the *Esquiline* hill, and stopped at the door of a vineyard.

THE name of this vineyard is *Galluzzo*, being most probably a corruption and confusion of the names of *Caius* and *Lucius*, the sons of *Agrippa*, and grandsons of *Augustus*; to whose memory *Augustus* here erected a basilica and a temple.

THIS temple, like several other buildings of the *Augustan* age, (such as the *Pantheon*, the *Mausoleum*, and the *Hemicyclium* of the *Palatine Apollo*) is in the form of a rotunda *. Its moss-grown

VOL. II.

K

walls

* It is a decagon. Its circuit on the outside is two hundred and twenty-five feet. In the walls between each angle are broad and deep niches for statues. Here was found that statue which at present makes a principal ornament of the *Giustiniani* gallery, the statue of *Minerva* with a serpent at her feet.

walls and lofty roof are still remaining, though much shattered in many places.

THE company entered this vineyard. In passing through one of its walks, they looked down into the sepulchral vaults of the *Arruntian* family: they then proceeded to the temple. In the center of the temple they found a large fountain, by the side of which they sat down.

CRITO sat in a pensive posture, reflecting on the common lot of mortality, and on the vanity of all human grandeur. If I remember right, said he, *Augustus* within the short space of eighteen months was deprived of *Caius* and *Lucius*; those two young princes whom (after the death of *Marcellus*) he looked upon as the supports of his family, and whom he had brought up to succeed him in the imperial power. — Sorrow upon Sorrow. — Perhaps *Augustus* might build this temple as a kind of lenient medecine for his grief. For here *Minerva* was honoured as another *Hygeia*, graciously presiding over the health of that part of the human nature, which, though not indeed subject to mortality, yet is from the earliest childhood continually liable to various pains, and dreadful distempers. Frequently is the goddess of *Wisdom* on this account entitled *Minerva Medica*, and represented with the attributes of *Æsculapius* *, the serpent

* See the plate of the temple and figure of *Minerva Medica* in *Mountfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 8.

pent and wand, blessing mankind with the *medicinâ mentis*, as he did with that of the body.

CRITO now opened a pocket volume of *Tully*, and read to his friends the introduction to the third book of the *Tusculan* questions : *De egritudine leniendâ* *.

THE conversation afterwards returned to its original subject. The young nobleman took notice of the picturesque appearance of this ruined temple, and then spoke of the statues of *Caius* and *Lucius*, which represent them with the attributes of *Castor* and *Pollux* †.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen commended *Augustus*'s care in the education of the young princes of his family. For though *Caius* and *Lucius* died very young, yet, I suppose, said he, they had received much instruction from *Augustus*; and though *Augustus* was very unhappy in *Tiberius* and *Julia*, yet how glorious were the fruits of his paternal care in *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*? What imperial palace ever indeed in one reign produced three such young princes?

K 2

MAY

* *Quidnam esse, Brute, causæ putem, cur cum constemus ex animo & corpore, corporis curandi tuendique causâ quæsitâ sit ars, ejusque utilitas deorum immortalium inventioni consecrata; animi autem medicina nec tam desiderata, &c.*

† Those statues were found near the theatre of *Marcellus*, and are now placed on the ascent to the *Capitol*.

MAY a similar education for ever bless all the royal youth of *Europe*! But why do I form *so imperfect* a wish on so great an occasion? May they be blessed with a *far better* education; even with those instructions which the goddess of this temple is said, under the shape of *Mentor*, to have herself bestowed on the youthful heir of a *Grecian* kingdom; and which *Fenelon* copied for the benefit of all the princes and people of *Europe*, tho' his pupil, the most amiable Duke of *Burgundy*, died as young as *Drusus* or *Germanicus*.

I AM sure, dear sir, (in saying this he turned to *Crito*) you often thought on that noble work with great pleasure, during your last journey thro' *France*, especially while you were visiting the archiepiscopal church of *Cambray*, or were seated by some of the shady fountains in the gardens of *Marli*.

CRITO listened with manifest satisfaction to these sentiments expressed by his young friend: he then turned round to his pupil, and desired to borrow for some moments his pocket *Horace*; he opened it at the fourth book, and read the following lines.

*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis —
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam;*

Restique

Relique mores pectora roborant :

Utcunque defecere mores,

Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.

AFTER *Marcellus's* death (continued *Crito*) *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, the two princely brothers of whom *Horace* here speaks, were educated together in the palace and under the care of *Augustus*. *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus*, had afterwards (as you observe) the same happiness.

DURING the life of *Augustus*, these three princes (though the character of *Tiberius* seems always to have been the lowest of the three) were in general regarded by the public with very great esteem. The *Romans*, still more than their enemies,

Sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles

Nutrta faustis sub penetralibus

Possit ; quid Augusti paternus

In pueros animus Nerones.

BUT let us at present confine our thoughts to *Drusus*.

HE seems to have been blessed with a very excellent natural disposition, as well as with a good education.

Adolescens erat tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalis recipit, aut industria perficit. Cujus ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus in incerto est: morum certè dulcedo & adversus amicos omnes æqua & par sui æstimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur.

IN this panegyric of *Velleius Paterculus* we must certainly make some considerable allowances for the exaggerations of court-flattery: but I apprehend it in the main to be founded in truth. The testimonies of other antient writers seem to confirm it. It is, I suppose, from those writers, that the authors of the Modern Universal History have extracted a very splendid character of this hero.

DRUSUS was a man of an unblemished character, of a probity which was proof against all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit or dissimulation. He was no way inferior either in courage or conduct to the most experienced commanders of his age; and had nothing in view in all his expeditions but the glory of the Roman name, and the public welfare. By which last expressions the authors probably mean the welfare of the Roman state.

THE character of *Drusus*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, seems to resemble that of the great prince of *Wales*, the son of the great *Edward*
the

the Third. Don't you recollect his monument at *Canterbury*, and his military trophies at *Windsor*?

He certainly resembled *Drusus*, replied *Crito*, in several exalted virtues: but particularly in that most amiable of them all, filial respect and love. To virtues of this kind I should wish you always to continue to give your principal attention.

It is true, that in *military* affairs *Drusus* was (after the decease of *Agrippa*) the greatest character of his times. His campaigns in *Germany* gave full proof both of his conduct and courage. You must have seen, I am sure, many coins of *Augustus*, which (in honour of *Drusus's* victories) are adorned with military trophies, and with the inscription *De Germanis*.

BUT in what manner shall we speak of those victories?

DRUSUS's army, in his last campaigns, passed the *Rhine* and *Wefer*, and ravaged the whole country as far as to the banks of the *Elbe*.—O miserable *Germany*! how often are thy provinces exposed to the ravages of war? Thy plains from the banks of the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, are even now smothering with blood. With what horror, my dear pupil, did we last spring pass over several fields of carnage in *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and the dominions of *Brunswick*.

But *Drusus*, being commander of the *Roman* army in that bloody expedition, incurred the deepest maledictions of the *German* nations: on his head their heavy curses fell. Permit me to read to you some few lines, which I have extracted from *Barre's History of Germany*. *Tandis qu'à Rome Drusus étoit regretté comme un prince d'un mérite distingué, brave, vertueux, plein de bonté, digne de remplacer Auguste: en Germanie les Cattes, les Sueves, & les Cberusques se rejouissoient de sa mort. Ils avoient éprouvé de la part de ce prince (or rather from the Roman army under his command) des cruautés inouïes, ce qui rendit sa mémoire si detestable parmi eux, que lorsqu'ils vouloient du mal à quelqu'un, ils soubaitoient qu'il tombat entre les mains d'un autre Drusus **.

I REMEMBER that, when we afterwards came from the northern parts of *Germany* into the *Palatinate*, I passed some days at *Manheim* in reading the dismal history of the destruction of that country by the order of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and by the army under the command of (I grieve on this occasion to mention his name) *Marshall Turenne*. I then thought, that some parallel might be drawn between the *German* expedition of *Drusus*, and this sad part of the military history of *Turenne*. Both
must

* *Histoire d'Allemagne*, vol. i. p. 146. quarto edition. *Pere Barre* refers on this head to *Crusius*, *Ann. Suev.* lib. ii. p. 2. & 45.

must have been hated in *Germany*, for executing the orders of their sovereigns *: while both were justly beloved at home for their own virtues.

CRITO now paused for some moments. He then resumed his discourse, beginning it with those well-known verses of *Addison*,

*Should he go further, numbers will be wanting
To form new battles, and support his crimes.
Ye Gods! what havoc does ambition make
Among your works!*

I WISH, that I was now endued with the thoughts and language of an *Addison* or of a *Fenelon*, duly to lament the dismal effects and consequences of the pride of Monarchs, dismal to the world in general, dismal often to themselves.

LEWIS lived long enough to see the *Palatinate* revenged at *Blenheim*: *Augustus* lived to see and feel the heavy punishment which the *Nemesis* of *Germany* poured down on *Varus's* legions. Permit me to read to you a short extract from *Dion Cassius*.

T O R E

* *A military profession is very dangerous to persons desirous of leading a life of goodness* Such was the famous reflection of *Marshall Turenne*, made by him on his death-bed; probably while recollecting the dreadful ruin of the *Palatinate*.

Τότε δὲ μάθων ὁ Αὐγὺς τὰ τῷ Οὐάρῳ συμβεβη-
κότα πένθ' ἔμεγα ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολώλοις καὶ ἐπὶ
τῷ περὶ τῶν Γερμανίων δέει· τότε μέγιστον, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ρώμην αὐτὴν ὀρμήσειν σφας προσ-
έδοκῃσε.

SUCH indeed was at last the case.

LET us reflect, my dear and noble friend, for some few moments on the stately magnificence in which *Rome* appeared toward the close of *Augustus's* reign; when the buildings (which we have this day visited) his imperial mausolæum, the theatre of *Marcellus*, the triumphal arch of *Drusus*, and *this* temple, were in their full splendor: then let us ask ourselves, what was the mighty power which was able to destroy this proud city?—The warlike descendants of those *German* nations, whose lands were invaded and ravaged by *Drusus's* army.

PLEASE to recollect, my dear pupil, the vision which appeared to *Aeneas*: the vision of those future *Roman* generals, who were to punish *Greece* for its antient cruelties to *Troy*:

Ille

*Victor aget currum cæsis insignis Achivis ;
Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Mycenæ
Ultus avos Trojæ.*

In

In the same manner you may imagine that *German* prophets, who on the banks of the *Elbe* drove back the *Roman* army by her execrations. You may imagine her, I say, on one hand denouncing speedy death to *Drusus*, and loading with curses the whole family of the *Cæsars*; (in the same stile perhaps as the *British* *Druid* cursed * the *Plantagenet* family) on the other hand turning to the several nations of *Germany*, and prophecying their future victories. The descendants of *this* chief of the *Brueteri* shall subdue *Mentz* and *Lyons*, and expell the *Romans* from all the provinces of *Gaul*. The posterity of *that* chief of the *Quadi* shall take ample revenge on *Rome* herself, shall fire *Mount Palatine*, deface *Drusus's* triumphal arch, overthrow the mausolæum of *Augustus*, and trample on his ashes.

It seems very observable, said the young nobleman, that in digging among the ruins of *this* temple several of its statues and ornaments have been found broken and battered; among them lay some old *German* hatchets †, probably the instruments of their demolition.

BUT enough of *Germany*, said *Crito*: I should not perhaps have proceeded so far in this kind of digres-

* See Mr. Grey's Ode: *Ruin seize thee, &c.*

† See Abbé Richgrd's Voyage d'Italie.

digression, if I had not considered you, my dear fellow-travellers, as in some measure peculiarly concerned in the history of antient *Germany*. Your illustrious families are all descended in some measure from a *German* origin : your *Saxon* ancestors came into *England* from those provinces which are washed by the *Wefer* and the *Elbe*.

BUT let us turn our thoughts again to *Drusus* : and consider him, not in his works of war, but in a far more amiable light ; in his *domestic* and *civic* character.

Occidit exemplum juvenis venerabile morum.

Maximus ille armis : maximus ille togâ.

LIKE his dear *Antonia*, (the worthy daughter of the virtuous and beautiful *Octavia*) *Drusus* united to a graceful body a still more lovely mind. *Drusus* is said to have been possessed of all the qualities which are fitted to produce either esteem or affection. He was generous ; he was popular : —

IF I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Drusus* had drank deeply of the doctrines of civil liberty. In case he had survived and succeeded *Augustus*, it was generally expected, that he would have restored the *Roman* republic * ;

crede-

* See *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 33.*

credebatur, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus.

IT was so reported, said *Crito*, but I know not with what truth: much less can I pretend to judge whether or no such a design would have been *really* expedient. I should rather imagine, that *Drusus's* good sense and good intentions would in that case have directed him to *another* work; to a plan and system of policy less splendid perhaps, but in reality far more beneficial to the public.

BUT however this may be, it is certain, that *Drusus* was generally beloved at *Rome*. *Magna ejus erat apud populum Romanum memoria.* His memory was greatly respected by all parties; if I may use the expression both by the country and court-party.

FOR let us not listen to the vulgar calumnies against *Augustus* *. Wicked as courts sometimes really are, yet I believe they are never near so bad, as they are reported to be: and I am confident, that you, dear sir, from your natural generosity of heart, and from your strong sense of political duty, will often turn your ears with horror and detestation

* *Displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint.*—*Hos vulgi sermones, &c.*

Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 82.

tion from many villainous lies suggested against government with equal falshood and malice.

AUGUSTUS seems not only to have been totally innocent of this villainous accusation, but to have been in reality deeply afflicted at the death of *Drusus*.

I CANNOT but think *Augustus's* grief and affection towards this his amiable adopted son to have been sincere, while he was composing the history of his life. He spoke the funeral oration also over his corpse.

IN that oration *Augustus* declared with tears, that all he wished for the glory of his then surviving children was this — that they might live to resemble *Drusus*.

HE added (in the stile of a *Roman* orator) that all he desired *for himself*, was that he might die like this hero; in the service of his country; in the midst of his triumphs.

THE emperor afterwards took the urn, bore it into his mausolæum, placed it there, probably near that of *Marcellus*.

* * *

THE

THE solemn entry of *Drusus's* corpse into *Rome**; the deep and mournful silence, with which his urn was deposited in the tomb; these, my dear friends, are subjects of meditation, far more edifying, far more pleasing, than the description of any oration or triumph.

YET, pleasing as the subject is, let me refrain myself from enlarging on it. — There is however one circumstance relative to it, on which I should be glad if you would for some moments indulge your imaginations.

THE historian, *Livy*, was at that time of *Drusus's* burial about fifty years of age. It is highly probable, that he was then resident at *Rome*; and present at that funeral solemnity. Let me desire you to consider what were most probably *his* thoughts on that occasion.

Is it not likely, that he meditated on it with much application of mind? If we examine the epitome or contents of his history, we shall find that *Drusus's* actions were the principal arguments of the five last books; and that the conclusion of his whole work was *Drusus's* death.

Corpus

* *Accedebat ad hanc mortem Drusi ingens civium provinciarumque & totius Italiae desiderium: per quam effusus in officium lugubre municipiis colonisque usque in urbem ductum erat funus triumpho simillimum. Seneca, Consol. ad Martiam.*

*Corpus Romam pervectum, & in C. Julii * tumulo conditum. Laudatus est a Cæsare Augusto vitrico; & supremis ejus plures honores additi.*

THE great and noble work of *Livy's Roman* history thus closing with the funeral of *Drusus*, it is not to be doubted, but that the writer exerted the full strength of his genius on this mournful occasion; particularly by delineating the character of *Drusus* in a stile worthy of the hero's merit, worthy of his own pen. If the conclusion of *Livy's* labours had been remaining, it would have been probably with much pleasure that I should have presented to you an extract from it this morning, while you were standing under the shade of *Drusus's* arch.

LET us renew our repeated wishes, that the history of *Livy* had been found at *Constantinople* entire!

PARDON me for this reverie, said the young nobleman; but I cannot help imagining, that if the learned world is ever to rejoyce in such a discovery, the discovery will most likely be made in *Italy*; probably within the precincts of *Rome*. Perhaps on some fortunate day, a chest may be found
deeply

* *Augusti est intelligendum. Nam inquit Dio. ες το τε Αυγουστωνου μνημεν κατατεθει.* Sig. Vide *Livii*, editionem Oxoniensem, vol. vi. p. 175.

deeply buried in the ruins of this city, a chest containing the works of *Livy*, in great measure perfect; together with some other antient authors. This conjecture will not seem *totally absurd* to those persons who have been eye-witnesses of the surprising depth of soil to which the ruins of this antient city, extend. They extend in several places down to twenty feet; in the *Cælian* hill to near seventy. Among these ruins (particularly among those on *Mount Palatine*) several arched vaults have been frequently at different periods of time accidentally discovered. Many curious paintings, many chef-d'œuvres of antique sculpture have been found in those subterranean recesses. Is it not possible, that some of them may contain a far more precious treasure?

I COULD wish, said *Crito's* pupil, that the goddess of this temple would with her snaky-wreathed wand kindly point out to us the spot, where we might dig for that treasure.

I REMEMBER, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen with a smile, that when we visited the mines in *Germany*, we heard much of the crooked haselstick. Might it not be wished, that there was some such divining rod for the discovery of the gold mines of literature? But perhaps the wand of *Minerva Medica* might be full as sure a guide.

THE conversation now wandered on various topics; when the young nobleman taking out his watch, was surprized to find it so late. 'We must make haste home, said he, or we shall lose our dinner. Besides our servants and horses have been a long while standing exposed to the scorching sun. Let us have pity on them, and return to our lodgings. We shall have made this morning almost the whole tour of *Rome*.

* * *

IN the way home, *Crito* mentioned a scheme, which he had heard proposed among some travellers, and which (he thought) might possibly be productive of some important discoveries. *Crito* wished this scheme could some time or other be brought to effect, as it seemed conducive to the advancement of charity and policy, as well as of *literature* and *vertù* *.

THE

* The streets of *Rome* swarm with poor, who are fed indeed at the gates of the convents; but are in great measure destitute both of lodging and clothing. Several of these poor people might by industry, if they could get employment, provide for themselves better. Several of them seem very able to work.

If a subscription of 200*l.* or 300*l.* were raised, and permission obtained from the government (*under proper restrictions*) for digging, it is almost certain that before that sum was expended,

THE young gentlemen strongly approved the idea of this proposal : they ardently wished that it could be begun during their stay at *Rome*, as they would gladly have subscribed to it.

THE subscription I apprehend, said *Crito*, would without much difficulty be raised among *English* travellers : but the *whole* management of the money must be entrusted to *Roman* hands. Happy if a *Roman* of proper dignity would undertake it.

CRITO's pupil now amused his friends with some pleasing conjectures in relation to the writers of antiquity, which might by these means be possibly recovered. If, said he, the Royal Master of the *Farnese* gardens, the King of *Naples*, would give permission that the ruins of the *Palatine* library might be thoroughly examined, it is not impossible that *Varius* and some other eminent authors

L 2

of

pended, it would be in a great degree reimbursed by the sale of the mere bricks and tiles, which would be turned up.

But it is highly probable, that many things of value would be discovered, the sale of which would thoroughly support this charity. This charity might be continued for several years by such a circulation of expending and receiving.

If any thing of *very extraordinary* note was found, it would by no means be proper that it should be exposed to sale, and exported from *Rome*. The trustees of the charity might present it gratis to the *Roman* government ; to be deposited, if an article of vertu, in the *Capitoline Museum* ; if of literature, in the *Vatican Library*.

of the *Augustan* age might be brought to light. Perhaps their works might be found in a much better condition than the scorched and pulverized manuscripts at *Herculaneum*.

BUT among all the literary productions of the *Augustan* age, none would be so acceptable to the public as a perfect *Livy*. Indeed the loss which *Livy's* history has suffered is much more generally lamented than that of any other *Roman* or *Greek* composition : which seems somewhat extraordinary ; for, notwithstanding the real high merit of *Livy*, certainly there have been several other writers, who deserve to be at least equally regretted.

THE conversation now turned on the works of *Livy*. It dwelt on that subject for a considerable time ; both while the company were in the coach, and while they were seated together at dinner.

* * *

AFTER dinner the young gentlemen dressed, and went out to make some visits. *Crito* retired to his apartment to put his papers and books in order.

HAVING

HAVING now passed through all the series of ages contained in *Livy's* history; he laid those volumes, together with *Frensbemius's* Supplement, aside: he laid them aside, not without some sentiments of respect and gratitude. In putting away the last volume, he had the curiosity to see in what manner *Frensbemius* concluded the long and laborious work of his Supplement.

THE last paragraph of that work is as follows.

Præsenti labori meo in his temporibus ætisque finem facio, circà quæ Livianam etiam historicam desisse indicio Epitomarum deprehenditur; toto animo versus in majoris & constantioris imperii auctorem dominumque JESUM CHRISTUM: quem sub hosce annos (de natali enim ejus haud levibus argumentis inter doctos disputatur) hominem natum suus aspexit potius quàm agnovit orbis. Hujus beneficio, siquid utiliter elaboravi, debere me totum profiteor: eumque suppliciter oro, ut porrò mentem eam mihi servet, omnia de quibus hic scripsi, regna, victorias, triumphos nullo modo digna reputantem, ob quæ Illius sanctissima secta, aut quidquid ea facere ac pati jubet ullâ ex parte negligatur.

CRITO, after perusing this paragraph with deep attention, retired to his closet for a quarter of an hour: he afterwards took a solitary walk (it being now late in the afternoon) along the shady side of the *Strada felice*. The streets of *Rome* are indeed not improper places for study and contemplation: some of them being as *quiet* and *still* as any college quadrangles.

ARRIVED at the stately northern front of the basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, *Crito* stood for some minutes admiring it. He then turned his eyes to the *Egyptian* obelisk, which is erected before it; and which was removed hither from the mausolæum of *Augustus*.

CRITO perused the inscriptions on its basis. He then went up the flight of steps into the church: he turned short on his left hand by the four *porphyry* pillars, which support the canopy over the high altar; and entered the chapel, which adorns its *northern* side.

TO the READER.

IT seems highly proper at this time to break the thread of these supposed *Roman Conversations*.

YOU are arrived at the time of the Greatest Event, which ever ennobled the history of the world.

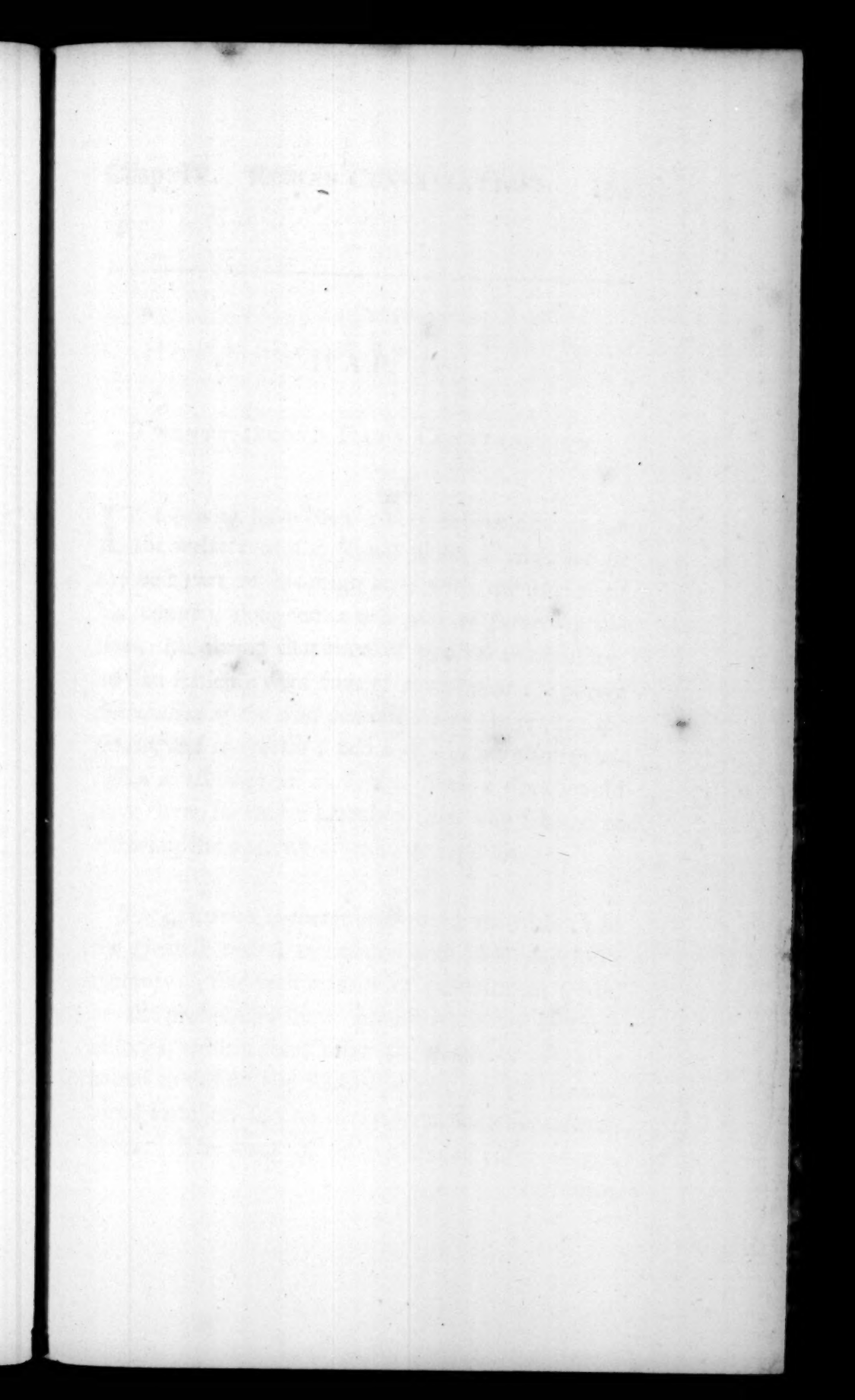
WHAT that event was, the author is by no means worthy to say. Sensible of his extreme unworthiness, he can only refer you to the second chapter of the gospel of St. LUKE : particularly to its first twenty verses. See also the first chapter, from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-eighth verse.

THE
TO THE READER

IT seems right, before we begin the history of the
of this famous Roman Convention.

You are invited to the time of the Great Event,
which ever enriched the history of the world.

What that event was, the author is bound to
write, to let, because of his extreme responsibility,
he can only refer you to the second chapter of the book
of St. Luke, particularly to its first twenty verses. See
the end of the chapter, from the twenty fifth to the
thirty eighth verse.



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CHAP. IV.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IT seems to have been a very desirable event for the welfare of the *Roman* state, if *Augustus* in the best part of his reign had, with the advice of his council, designed a wise plan of future legislation; if, during that time of general tranquillity, he had settled a solid form of government; a proper distribution of the civil power between the prince, the senate, and the people; and a regular hereditary succession to the imperial authority. Such a work would have been far more laudable than any scheme of restoring the anarchy of the late republic.

SUCCESSING generations would then have had the greatest reason to honour and bless *Augustus's* memory. For such a form of government would in all probability have prevented many of those miseries, which soon after the death of *Augustus* began to fall on the *Roman* people, on the senatorial families, and on his imperial successors themselves. The want of such a settled form of government

vernment was indeed severely felt, as long as the *Roman* empire continued to exist.

BUT perhaps, notwithstanding the beauty and general utility of such a legislative plan, and its remarkable congeniality in several particulars with the old *Roman* constitution, yet *Augustus* might not be brave enough to venture to produce it. It might possibly give some disturbance to the present public calm, or rather public lethargy : and therefore it might be dropt, like several other noble designs for the public good, which are continually lost in all ages and countries by government's excessive caution, or rather timidity, *movendi composita*.

PERHAPS also neither *Augustus*, nor any of his council, were endued with a sufficient strength of political wisdom. A mixed distribution of civil power is continually before our eyes in *England* : but there is a very wide difference between the seeing and admiring a complicated machine, and the being able to have invented it. Not one of all the most celebrated *legislators* of antiquity appear to have arrived at the perfect comprehension of so great an idea : though several, both at *Rome* and in *Greece*, seem to have made very considerable approaches towards it.

SUCH

SUCH were the sentiments expressed by the eldest of the young gentlemen to his three friends, as they sat round his table to-day after breakfast. He took up *Tacitus's Annals*, which lay among some other political books on the table, and proceeded as follows.

TACITUS seems to have almost formed the compleat idea of such a plan; but at the same time to have considered it as ideal only, and to have thought, that no real fabric of government could ever be built or stand long on such foundation.

Cunctas nationes & urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt. Delecta ex his & constituta respublica laudari facilius quàm evenire; vel si evenit haud diuturna esse potest.*

THANK GOD, such a system of government has really existed in *Great Britain* (allowing some considerable variations) for now above ten centuries.

PROBABLY, said the young nobleman, the *Roman* empire was of too great an extent for such an happy plan of government. Several political writers are, I believe, of opinion, that democracy;
aristo-

* Annal. lib. iv. c. 33.

aristocracy, or limited monarchy, are best suited for states of a moderate size : but that vast and enormous empires demand an absolute sovereign.

MAY there not another reason be given for it ? said *Crito*. Did *Rome* deserve such an happiness ? Let us recollect the long and black catalogue of her former crimes : let us *now* recollect the miseries of those many nations, whom she had invaded, enslaved, extirpated. Did *she* deserve so eminent a political blessing ? Ah ! no. Other things are prepared for her. *Her* people also shall be enslaved : *Rome* shall groan under the most absolute despotism, the most bloody tyranny. The first successor of *Augustus* shall be a *Tiberius*.

Post hunc castrensis caligæ cognomine Cæsar
Succedet sævo sævior ingenio :
Cædibus incestisque dehinc maculosus, & omni
Crimine pollutum qui superabit avum.

I forget what the poet says of *Claudius*, and *Nero* : but I think we may assert with confidence, that as no state ever groaned under a series of such oppressors, so also it will be difficult to find any people, whose wickedness more deserved such a punishment.

TACITUS

TACITUS says, that *Sejanus* acquired his great power *non tam solertiâ, quàm Deûm irâ in rem Romanam*. The same observation may be made in relation to most of the twelve *Cæsars*.

PROVIDENCE cast upon the Romans the furiousness of its wrath, by sending these evil angels among them.

* * *

BUT let me correct my asperity in the application. The *Romans* were indeed very bad; yet in the midst of their punishment, many mercies and blessings were vouchsafed unto them. Their tyrants were in general very execrable; but yet there was not one of them, of whom it might not be justly said, that he had sometimes performed something that was good.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, a great absurdity of which I was guilty when at the university. In reading *Tacitus's* Annals, I met with several particulars in the life of *Tiberius*, which were very laudable; several actions of generosity and fortitude, which seemed not unworthy the character even of an *Aurelius* or an *Antonine*. In *Velleius's* encomium also I thought I found much truth;

truth, as well as much falshood and flattery. I employed myself for a week in collecting all these laudable parts of *Tiberius's* history into one paper, omitting whatever was of a contrary nature. That paper I lately found in my *porte-feuille*; and will communicate it to you, (if I think of it) when you are at *Puteoli* viewing the antique marble * in the market-place.

I INTENDED to pursue the same scheme in relation to the reigns of *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*. But the absurdity of the design became in the process so very glaring; the evil, which I could scarce avoid reading, (especially if I took up *Suetonius*) so infinitely outweighed the good, and appeared of so very heinous and horrid a nature; that, before I had finished the life of *Tiberius*, I cast aside the paper, incomplete and uncorrect, into my *porte-feuille*: perhaps I ought rather to have flung it with indignation into the fire.

WHEN I afterwards mentioned the affair to you, my dear tutor, you kindly told me, that from my week's exercise I might at least draw two useful lessons for my own conduct. First, that some
transient

* The pedestal of that statue of *Tiberius*; which was erected by fourteen cities of *Asia*, in gratitude for his beneficence to them when laid desolate by an earthquake. See *Painter's* Letters from *Italy*, letter 73.

transient acts of generosity are far from being sufficient to denominate a person truly charitable: the dispositions of charity must, by frequent acts of it, be wrought into his very frame, and become the firm, permanent, habitual affections of his soul. Secondly, much less is a transient practice of *one* virtue (for instance, that virtue to which youth is *most easily* disposed, *erogandæ per honesta pecuniæ*) sufficient to justify a young man in an high opinion of himself, particularly if he neglects other not less noble or useful branches of virtue. The most difficult, but perhaps most important part of his duty is properly to govern those passions, which easily lead first to venial offences, then to more vicious excess, and which from thence (if not timely prevented) will gradually drag down his soul to the depth of criminal horrors. Many young men, who were at first well principled, have been by imperceptible degrees so corrupted, as to have too much reason at least to cry out with *Phædra*,

*Why was I born with such a sense of virtue,
So great abhorrence of the smallest crime,
And yet a slave to such impetuous guilt?*

THESE were the instructions, with which, I well remember, you, my kind tutor, favoured me, while at the university. But let me not, by talking any

longer on that subject, prevent you from beginning the lecture, with which you intend to favour us this morning.

* * *

YESTERDAY, said *Crito*, we concluded our review of that long series of the generations of *Rome*, whose actions were the subject of *Livy's* history. This morning we are to begin the thread of *Tacitus's* Annals. Much reason have I to wish, that I was *in any degree* capable of conversing properly with you on those topics, which a *Livy* or a *Tacitus* thought worthy of their labours.

THIS first volume of *Tacitus* comprehends the two and twenty years of *Tiberius's* reign. Notwithstanding the general wretchedness of those times, yet a catalogue might be extracted from it of *several* good men, whose names *Tacitus* here mentions with honour. But the *chief* hero of this volume is *Germanicus*. If you please, we will allot this morning to *his* memory.

YOUR coach shall carry us (if you have no objection) to the *Barberini* palace. We will visit the apartment which is adorned with *Poussin's* picture of the death of *Germanicus* : and either in that apartment

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 163

partment of the *Barberini* palace, or in one of the chambers of the *Capitoline* musæum, we will prosecute our usual morning's study.

WE shall gladly attend you, replied the young nobleman, to that picture. Often, since I came to *Rome*, I have reflected with pleasure, that in these my lodgings * *Poussin* lived, thought, and laboured. Perhaps it was in this very room, where we are now sitting, that *Poussin* conceived the idea, and executed the design of that noble painting of *Germanicus's* death.

* * *

THE *Barberini* palace contains ten noble apartments, each of which consists of several rooms, furnished with great abundance of statues and paintings.

IN the eighth room of the prince's summer apartment, is that famous picture of the death of *Germanicus* by *Nicolo Poussin*; for which, it is said, the Great Duke offered no less a price than 15000 crowns, or 3750*l.* sterling.

M 2

THR

* Next door to the *French* convent on *Monte de Trinità*.

THE company employed near an hour in studying this picture : they afterwards proceeded to the *Capitol*.

* * *

IN passing through the second room of the *Capitoline* museum, the company stopped for some time to admire the recumbent thoughtful statue of *Agrippina* : they then went on to the *imperial chamber*.

THE imperial chamber is called by that title on account of the antique busts which it contains, representing most of the *Roman* Emperors, Empresses, *Cæsars*, and Consuls of the imperial blood. These busts are ranged round the room in two rows, and are disposed in a regular chronological series *.

How grand is this assembly ? said the young nobleman. This congress of almost all the great families

* Vedeſi in primo luogo collocato il buſto di Giulio Ceſare di alabaſtro a righe. Siegue quello di Auguſto. Indi una teſta di Marcello ſuo nepote. Altra poi di Tiberio, e un buſto del medemo. Di bianchiſſimo marmo e il buſto del ſuo fratello Druſo fatto certamente in quei tempi, come ci manifeſta l'eccellenza del lavoro. Alla finiſtra di eſſo vedeſi la ſtimabiliſſima teſta della di lui moglie Antonia detta minore. La teſta di Germanico loro figliuolo viene appreſſo. Poi quella della di lui moglie Agrippina, molto ſtimabile pel lavoro, &c.

Muſeo Capitolino, p. 47.

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 165

families which were honoured with the imperial crown of *Rome*, during the three centuries of its greatest splendor !

IT is indeed a very majestic assembly, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But the awe which we feel on first entering the room, very considerably abates, when we consider the *difference* of the characters of these personages.

SEVERAL of them indeed had noble and exalted minds ; (in saying this, he pointed to the busts of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* on the upper row near the window) but in how many other of these breasts did the greatest meanness and misery lurk ?

I AM afraid, that we shall too frequently find by our own experience, in all the courts, and in all the august assemblies of the present age, a similar strange mixture of company.

BUT to consider it, continued he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, in a calm view (as one of your philosophers in the next room * might do) how ill-forted does this company appear ? *Agrippa*, *Marcus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus* ; *Titus*, *Nerva*, and these several busts of *Marcus Aurelius* ; mixed with

M 3

those

* The philosophic chamber in the *Capitoline Museum* (mentioned vol. i. pag. 572.) is the room next adjoining to this imperial chamber.

those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and that most ill-looking *Caracalla* in that corner *.

Does not this strange mixture of company put you in mind of that part of the sculpture on *Æneas's* shield, in which *Virgil* has placed some of the worst as well as some of the best of the *Roman* characters closely and therefore instructively contrasted together.

— Te, Catilina, minaci

Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem :

Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

HAPPY would it be, said *Crito*, (after having fixed his eyes in silence for some moments on the floor) if in the future course of your lives you could dwell and converse *only with the good*. Such a blessing would in some measure turn earth into heaven.

I REMEMBER about the middle of the first *November*, which I passed on the continent, I heard at *Amiens* an anthem; the words of which gave me great pleasure. *Iustum deduxit Dominus per*
vias

* *Alla ferezza del volto, al terribile sopraciglio, ed alla minacciosa voltata di testa facil cosa e il riconoscere Caracalla effigiato in uno busto di porfido con la testa di marmo.*

Museo Capitolino, pag. 51.

vias rectas, & ostendit illi regnum DEI. O beatum virum, cujus anima Paradisum possidet; unde exultant angeli, lætantur archangeli, chorus sanctorum proclamat, turba virginum invitat, manē nobiscum in æternum. Certainly no little part of the perpetually-increasing felicity and holiness of the celestial kingdom, must be derived from the unmixed society, the eternal communion of its saints.

HAPPY is the man, whose lot on earth in some degree resembles theirs.

BUT *wo is me, who am constrained to dwell with Mefech, and to have my habitation among the tents of Kedar.*

LET us endeavour, my dear friends, to avoid, as much as possible, all bad connections. It is the duty of eminently virtuous persons to condescend to the conversation, and to endeavour the amendment of the wicked. But our principles of piety are as yet far too weak; let us not venture into contagion. When we are forced among bad persons, let us recollect how dangerous a place this world is. As long as we continue in this life, we stand between heaven and hell; and out of every one of us there will grow, either an angel, or (what GOD of his infinite mercy for ever prevent) a devil.

BUT let us turn our thoughts to less weighty subjects : let us resume our classic studies.

THIS assembly of the imperial families of *Rome*, shews us virtue and vice both placed in the *bigbest* stations.

MAY the bust of *Tiberius*, and of those other tyrants, revive in your hearts the abhorrence of their characters : but may the amiable looks of *Germanicus*, and of these other princes, whose histories are adorned with many illustrious marks of wisdom and goodness, increase and enflame your noble emulation, your ardent desire of making by imitation their virtues your own ; as far at least as your different stations and spheres of action seem to allow.

I HAVE brought a paper for your perusal here. On the back of which I find a reference to the beginning of *Demetrius's* life in *Plutarch* : and also some lines quoted from one of his treatises. —
 Επιλογιζεσθαι δε δι' αμφοτερων, οπως τα μεν φυλαττομενοι
 βελτιους ωμεν αυτων, τα δε μιμνημενοι μη χειρονες *.

THIS paper contains a kind of contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

EVERY

* See *Plutarch's* treatise *de capiendâ ex inimico utilitate*, p. 92. at the conclusion.

EVERY day of my life ought I to grow more and more deeply convinced of my infinite unworthiness to have any concern in the great work of education. May that blessed work flourish in *other* hands ! Yet as I have passed much time in studying the subject (unprofitably perhaps) allow me to mention some of the opinions of the authors whom I have consulted.

IT is the opinion of several learned writers, that as the most likely means of preserving and increasing the love of virtue in young persons, is to place before their eyes continually, and on all sides, the noblest and brightest examples that have existed since the foundation of the world ; so the next best method for the same purpose, is to shew to them sometimes (not often) the extreme baseness and horror of an opposite character.

FOR who can refuse his thanksgivings to heaven for the glory and happiness of virtue to which he has been called, and which has been exemplified to him in the numerous examples of the wise and good ; all, in a long series through many ages, ardently imitating the excellencies of their predecessors ?

WHO can help fearing for himself, when, on the other hand, he sometimes sees the blackness,
darkness,

darkness, and depth of such infamy, wretchedness, and horrid misery?

PERHAPS some of those who lie in that gulph of vice, were once walking in the shining paths of virtue. But, alas! *mutati sunt in deterius*. Such seems to have been, in a remarkable manner, the sad case of *Tiberius*.

BUT let me not indulge myself in too much talkativeness. I shall sufficiently exercise your patience by the perusal of this paper.

GERMANICUS.

THERE is not perhaps any part of the *Roman* history which shews more strongly the misery of degenerating from our education, and of losing the virtuous reputation gained in our youth, than the contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

THEY both began their lives in the same exalted theatre of human grandeur, the *palace* of the *Roman* empire. Both were educated by *Augustus*, at that time in the height of his goodness and wisdom. Both were possessed of great natural genius and abilities

abilities of mind. Both in their early manhood acted virtuously and nobly. But *Tiberius* suffered himself to grow gradually corrupted in his heart, and degenerate from the glorious beginning of his life. His actions of virtue and goodness grew daily fewer and fewer : his heart grew worse and worse. *Morum enim tempora illi diversa. Egregius vitâ, famâque, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit : fingens virtutes donec supersuit Germanicus : inter bona, malaque mixtus incolumi matre : postea in scelera omnia, & dedecora prorumpens.* Thus did he gradually become the most despicable, the most hated, the most cursed of characters : his long life, and exalted station, only adding to the weight of the infamy and misery on his head.

THE name of *Germanicus* has been now for more than seventeen centuries, and will probably continue as long as the *Roman* history remains, beloved and revered. *Ingenium illi contigit, in utroque eloquentiæ ac doctrinæ studio præcellens ;* and that in poetry too, as well as oratory. *Multa reliquit studiorum monumenta ;* particularly a translation of *Aratus*, with astronomical notes : but (what is of infinitely more consequence) *fortitudinem habuit egregiam, benevolentiam singularem : conciliandæque hominum gratiæ ac promerendi amoris mirum & efficax studium.*

HE continued always to keep his heart, with all diligence, in the constant habit of intending and aiming at the best designs: he consequently was in his heart and countenance, and in all his words and actions, open, generous, and noble. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, grew by degrees (the necessary consequence of his wickedness) to have always dissimulation in his countenance, insincerity and darkness in his speech, and malevolence in his heart. For, in proportion as he lost himself all title to real glory, he became most meanly envious: all the honours, which others acquired, offended him.

GERMANICUS was compassionate to the unhappy, and kind even to his rivals. He was faithful and brave himself in the service of his country. He honoured all the living and dead who had been so. *Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulchra cognosceret, inferias manibus dabat. Cæforum Varianorum præsertim reliquias colligere & tumulo condere primus aggressus est.* I recollect with pleasure your sentiments on that subject, my good pupil. In your journey through *Westphalia*, in the neighbourhood of *Paderborn*, you visited that spot.

If I am not mistaken, replied *Crito's* pupil, (turning off the conversation, and pointing to the busts

buſts of *Trajan* *) *that* emperor acted in the ſame noble and generous manner. In a *French* hiſtory of his life, which I lately read, it is ſaid that *Trajan* fit elever un autel en memoire de ceux qui étoient tués dans les combats, & y fonda des ſacrifices annuels. But pray proceed to the other parts of *Germanicus*'s character.

AT the hazard of his own life (continued *Crito*) *Germanicus* was loyal to *Tiberius*, his adoptive father: though he was in continual danger of deſtruction from his malice; and though he was almoſt ſure of obtaining the imperial power if he had the inclination of wreſting it from the poſſeſſor. *Legiones imperatorem Tiberium recusantes, & ſibi ſummum imperium deferentes compeſcuit; incertum majore conſtantiâ an pietate.* Thoſe legions were the army on the *Rhine*; *robur imperii, & vi ſuâ cuncta tracturum.* How different was this noble generous ſpirit of *Germanicus*, from that *ignavia*, of which *Velleius Paterculus* falſly accuses him?

BUT to proceed in the conſtrast between his character and that of *Tiberius*. *Tiberius* by degrees came to have ſcarce any object but that of mean ſelf-love, and falſe ambition; to have no affection for any perſon; to be ſuſpicious and fearful of all:

* *Amendue i buſti di Trajano ſono di un perfetto lavoro, & ſamigliantiſſimi con le medaglie, amendue di marmo bianco, ed il primo e tutto di un pezzo.* Muſeo Capitolino, p. 49.

all: and yet (the miserable consequence of such a temper) this tyrant was continually admitting the worst men to his society and favour; and continually busied in the horrid work of persecuting and murdering his near relations, as well as the most innocent and worthy of his subjects.

GERMANICUS was always inclined to sweetness and goodness; mild and forgiving to his slanderers; supporting affronts with true magnanimity and patience; and with the greatest generosity saving the lives of his most determined enemies. *Tiberius* grew more and more hard-hearted and cruel; and full of such mean malevolence to all his fellow-creatures, as at last, in the bitterness of his malice, to repeat that diabolical line,

Εμὲ θάβοιτε γὰρ μὴδ' ἔτι σωτῆρι.

A sentiment the wickedness of which could be imitated only by a *Nero* *. But let us hasten from such a dreadful train of thought. From such a hell libera nos, Domine!

THIS

* *Nero's* sentiments were, if possible, still more infernal: Repetente enim quodam hoc carmen: immò, inquit, εμὲ θάβοιτε. Shakespear has placed the same horrid wish in the mouth of a similar tyrant, *Macbeth*.

I wish the state of the world were now undone!

THIS last expression of *Crito* was occasioned by the accidental circumstance, which happened while he was speaking. The monks of *Ara Cæli* were at that instant crossing the *Capitoline* area in procession, singing the litany. Their chaunt was heard distinctly in the *musæum*. The company went to the balcony in the *Sala Grande* to see the procession, and then at the desire of the young nobleman walked down the stone stair-case.



AT the bottom of the stair-case is a small paved court adorned with a fountain : in the midst of that fountain is placed a colossal antique statue, representing (according to the common opinion) the river *Rhine*. This statue is generally known by the name of *Marforio* ; probably on account of its having been once a principal ornament of the adjoining *Forum*, and temple of *Mars* *.

PERHAPS, said the young nobleman, this statue may bear some relation to the history of *Germanicus*. *Pere Bougeant* says, that *Germanicus*
adorned

* The forum of *Augustus* stood nearly adjoining to the *Capitol* : in the middle of that forum was the temple of *Mars* the revenger.

See *Donati's Roman Antiquities*, book ii. ch. 22.

adorned the temple of Mars the revenger *, with the ornaments of his triumph, and the spoils of Germany. Perhaps this figure of the Rhine might be then placed there. I know not on what authority Pere Bougeant's history is founded : but I think Tacitus speaks of a triumphal arch built within a stone's cast of that forum, expressly on account of these German victories †. Is it not probable, that the Romans might then have placed this statue of the Rhine before the temple of their idols, (as a permanent emblem of their victories) after having dragged

* Histoire d'Allemagne, livre ii. p. 205. *Germanicus mit pied à terre, quitta sa robe triumpnale, & sacrifia à Jupiter plusieurs taureaux blancs : il porta ensuite au temple de Mars le vengeur les ornemens du triomphe, & les depouilles des Germains.*

† *Fine anni dicatur arcus propter ædem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii.*

Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.

On the foundations of this temple of Saturn adjoining to the forum of Augustus, the church of St. Adrian in Campo Vaccino now stands. Close by which church, this statue of the Rhine lay on the ground neglected during many of the middle ages. It has been but lately removed to the Capitol.

At the distance of some few yards from the church of St. Adrian, is a triumphal arch, inscribed to Severus, probably built on the very spot of Germanicus's or Tiberius's triumphal arch ; and possibly composed in great measure of its materials. It might even be imagined without any very great appearance of absurdity, that it is the same identical arch without any other alteration but that of the inscription. The sculptures on it seem very applicable to the history of Germanicus's campaigns : particularly the naval expeditions, and the reliefs of the four river-gods *sopra gli archi collateral* ; two of which may perhaps represent the Elbe and Rhine, and the other two, which are younger and without beards, the Ems and Weser.

dragged it as it were captive through their streets? It seems a confirmation of this conjecture, that *Tacitus*, in describing the triumph of *Germanicus*, says expressly, *veſta ſimulacra fluminum* *.

SUCH indeed, ſaid the eldeſt of the young gentlemen, was on many occasions the haughty pride of the *Romans*. But in reſpect of *Germany*, their boaſts of victory were not only arrogant, but alſo void of foundation. Often did they pretend to triumph over *Germany*: but in fact this mighty river, the *Rhine*, was the impaſſable boundary, the *ne plus ultra* of the *Roman* empire.

IT is true, that *Germanicus* and his father *Drusus* extended the ravages of war acroſs its ſtreams, and made the banks of the *Embs*, the *Weſer*, and the *Elbe*, the theatre of ſome of their campaigns; one of their officers, I think, even paſſed the *Elbe* †; yet thoſe campaigns, bloody and deſtructive as they were, produced no ſettled conqueſts. After much ſlaughter and toil, after many viciffitudes of defeat and victory, the *Romans* found themſelves obliged to fall back again to the *Rhine*.

VOL. II.

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THE

* *Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.*

† *L. Domitius exercitu ſumen Albim tranſcendit, longius penetratâ Germaniâ quam quiſquam priorum.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 44.

THE *Rhine* continued ever afterwards the limit of their dominion. This is generally attributed to the wise policy and state-maxims of some of the emperors. But there were manifestly other reasons for it. *Rome* was able, and therefore willing, to extend her dominion in the west beyond the great boundary of the ocean, and to penetrate even to the *Silures* and *Brigantes*; but she was never able to subdue the warlike inhabitants of *Westphalia* and *Hanover*. I recollect *Florus's* observation on this subject. *Imperium quod non steterat in littore Oceani, stabat in ripâ fluminis Rheni*: it might be added, *semper stetit*. How much must some of our *Saxon* ancestors have exulted in this thought?

THE conversation now was changed for some minutes into a panegyric on the heroism and fortitude of the *German* nations. It soon however returned to the character of *Germanicus*.

I REMEMBER, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, that when I was at *Cologne*, I employed a long afternoon in the study of those campaigns of *Germanicus*, which are described in *Tacitus's* *Annals*.

IN the morning I had been for several hours walking about that old city, and viewing with much pleasure the magazine of antique *Roman*
arms

arms in the *Stadt-houfe**, and the bas-reliefs of the head of *Germanicus* on the walls of some of the public buildings. After dinner I went up into my chamber, the windows of which commanded an extensive prospect across the *Rhine*; I sat down in the window seat, and turned over several parts of the two first books of *Tacitus*.

SOMETIMES I cast my eyes across the river, and imagined I saw *Agrippina* standing at the foot of the bridge: sometimes I looked up the stream towards *Bonn*, and recollected *Germanicus's* fidelity there to *Tiberius*: at other times I looked down the stream, and thought of *Germanicus's* laborious campaigns in *Friesland* and *Embsen*.

IN reading the history of those campaigns, I met with several passages, which from my want of practice in the stile of *Tacitus*, and from my extreme ignorance in the art of war, (antient as well as modern) I could not understand. The obscurity was increased by the great changes which since *Tacitus's* time have happened in the countries near the mouths of the *Rhine*.

If you please, said *Crito*, we will at present turn our thoughts from *Germanicus's* military history.

N 2

* *Pococke* observes, that these arms are very similar to those which he had seen in an old Roman arsenal at *Beer* on the *Euphrates*.

tory. His warlike atchievements gained him indeed great reputation at *Rome*, yet we must own, that as in the military history of *Drusus*, *Scipio*, and other *Roman* heroes, so also in this of *Germanicus*, there are many things which are really the objects of horror, not of admiration.—*Quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastavit : non sexus, non ætas miserationem attulit* *.—*Insisterent cædibus, nil opus captivis, solam interneccionem gentis finem bello fore* †.

SHUTTING our eyes to these scenes of warlike cruelty, the perpetual disgrace of *Roman* heroism, let us contemplate *Germanicus* in another far more pleasing light.

IN saying these words, *Crito* turned from the figure of the *Rhine*, and walked into the adjoining portico.

* * *

AT the end of the portico, fronting the staircase, is a room called the *Canopus*. It is adorned with about a dozen *Egyptian* sculptures, executed in a manner remarkably elegant.

THE

* *Annalium*, lib. i. c. 51.

† *Annal.* lib. ii. c. 21.

THE company passed a quarter of an hour in that room ; during which time their conversation naturally fell on the history of *Egypt*.

IN the middle of the same portico, fronting the gate, stand two *Egyptian* statues, of a much larger size, and to all appearance of much greater antiquity. One of them bears on its head a kind of *corona turrita*, holds in its right hand the roll of a book, and in its left a palm-branch : several hieroglyphic characters are engraven on its side.

THE study of the *Egyptian* history, said *Crito*, would be a very amusing employment to persons resident at *Rome*; if there was at present in this city any *Coptite* or *Abyssinian* priest capable of explaining the hieroglyphic language, in the same manner as the learned *Hermapion*, whose book on that subject is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* *. If such were the case, perhaps we should find from these hieroglyphic characters, that the person represented by this statue, was the most glorious, the most beneficent of conquerors, the royal *Osiris*. *Osiris*, the builder of cities, the patron of agriculture, of learning, and of all the arts of peace.

* See *Ammianus Marcellinus's* History of *Constantius*, book 17.

MY pupil's vision of the genius of the obelisk, has, since I heard it, turned my thoughts to the history of *Egypt*. One morning in the latter end of last week, I took up the first book of *Diodorus Siculus*, and read with much pleasure the account of king *Osiris's* expeditions.

THAT account seems at first view a mere romance ; but perhaps you, dear sir, (in saying this, *Crito* turned to the eldest of his young friends) might have been able to extract from it some important doctrines of *true* political wisdom.

IN fact, if we suppose the prince of a civilized country to have any concerns with savage and barbarous nations, what better or wiser plan of policy can he lay down for himself, than the grand out-lines of *Osiris's* conduct ? To act, not so much the formidable enemy, as the real friend to the barbarians ; not to invade, and consequently force them to learn the *arts* of war, but to communicate to them the far happier arts of peace ; to introduce among them the blessings of a civilized life ; to instruct them in agriculture, and to enlighten their minds with useful knowledge, and with the purest doctrines of piety and morality.

HAPPY would it have been for the *Roman* empire, if *Augustus* and his successors had followed
(as

(as far as they were able) this plan of policy, in regard to the *German* nations. Happy would it have been, if *Germanicus* had been sent to the banks of the *Weſer* and *Elbe*, not in the character of a dreadful *Roman* general (a severe, though excellent master in the art of war *) but rather in a character similar to that of *Oſiris's* lieutenant, *Triptolemus*.

How rejoiced would *Germanicus* have been in an employment so suitable to the goodness of his heart? With what pleasure would he have instructed the barbarians to till their soil, to drain their marshes, and to clear their vast forests, with which *Germany* was then covered?

IF such a plan of policy had been followed, it is probable the *Germans* would have been much more happy, (for they might have partaken of the benefits of a civilized life, without being corrupted or enslaved by luxury) and it is also very probable, that *Rome* would never have been destroyed by the inundations of the *German* nations. Against their fierceness the plow would have been a much better weapon than the *Roman* sword.

N 4

IN

* *Diriguntur acies, non ut olim apud Germanos vagis incurſibus aut diſjeſſas per catervas: quippe longâ adverſus nos militiâ infueverant ſequi ſigna, ſubſidiis firmari, diſta imperatorum accipere.*

Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 45.

IN fact, we find the dreadful inundations of the northern nations never to have ceased ; till agriculture, civilization, and other sciences were introduced into the north. While the northern nations depended on hunting for their subsistence, they perpetually found their vast regions too narrow for their numbers : applying themselves to agriculture, they found the same countries amply capable of supporting them, even if their multitudes had been encreased an hundred fold.

* * *

THE conversation now imperceptibly wandered to the account given by *Tacitus* of *Germanicus's* travels into *Egypt*, and of his voyage up the *Nile* from the town of *Canopus* to the great city of *Osiris*, the hundred-gated *Thebes* *.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, that while I was reading in *England* that part of *Tacitus*, I frequently consulted *Pococke's* travels into the *East*, and *Norden's* late voyage on the *Nile* from the ruins of *Alexandria* up to those of *Luxor* and *Carnac*. Since our arrival at *Rome*, I vainly please myself with the fancy, that I have discovered here a memorial of *Germanicus's* visit to *Thebes*. On the
Lateran

* *Annal.* lib. ii. c. 60.

Lateran obelisk (which obelisk, if I am not mistaken, was originally a *principal* ornament of that great *Egyptian* metropolis) I think I discovered one day, when the sun shone remarkably favourable on that part, several *Roman* characters, being the five or six first letters of *Germanicus's* name, engraven sideways among or rather across the hieroglyphics. If I did not deceive myself in this fancy, it is probable that these letters might be thus engraven by *Germanicus's* order while at *Thebes*, as a memorial of his journey thither; in the same manner as (according to *Pococke* and *Norden*) many other *Roman* and *Greek* names are inscribed on the feet of *Memnon's* statue.

BUT let me not trouble you any longer with this conjecture, which is perhaps void of foundation, certainly is but trifling. Let me rather desire my tutor to continue his comparison of the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

* * *

IN order to place in a stronger light the contrast of those characters, replied *Crito*, it may not be an improper method to consider (as you are now doing) *Germanicus* during his travels through those

those parts of the world, which were at that time most famous either for the antient or the actual merit of the inhabitants.

GERMANICUS travelled with the greatest continued pleasure, because with continued innocence, and with continued intentions of learning and practising goodness in every place.

GERMANICUS, according to the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, (a doctrine, my dear pupil, worthy the notice of all young travellers to *Italy*) Μιστος Σεισηνων νοδus ηγειτο.

GERMANICUS, in visiting and examining the venerable antiquities of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Egypt*, satisfied a very laudable curiosity: it might have been wished, however, that before he went into *Egypt*, he had not forgot to ask *Tiberius's* permission for making that tour.

GERMANICUS respected the inhabitants of those celebrated countries for the sake of their ancestors: and as he was invested with a great share in the power of government, he constantly (in some degree like the great and good *Osiris*) made it his business in all countries, through which he passed, to take that opportunity of establishing the public tranquillity, order, and plenty; appeasing
in

in some measure all discords, and relieving all oppressions, whether foreign or domestic *.

Φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποις,

Πάντας γὰρ φιλεῖσκειν.

IN contrast with this affability and beneficence of *Germanicus*, let us consider *Tiberius*, the absolute monarch of the vast *Roman* empire, absconding even from *Rome*. Most part of the latter end of his reign he passed in a small island, about two hundred miles distant from this city. During the last eleven years of his life, he never once entered his own palace, never trod in the *Roman* forum, never ascended this *Capitoline* hill: *gravatus aspectum civium*.

IF one of the humble lay-brothers in this adjoining convent of *Ara Cæli* was now to overhear this part of our conversations, he would perhaps by his charity be induced to please himself with the imagination, that *Tiberius* might, possibly in his old age, chuse that retreat from *penitential* motives. Many true penitents (he would perhaps say) have retired from the pomp of the world to
rocky

* *Provincias internis certaminibus, aut magistratum injuriis fessas resovebat.* (Annal. lib. ii. c. 54.) *Levavit aperis horreis pretia frugum.* (Ibid. c. 58.) *Alexandriam adiit propter immensam ac repentinam famem.* Sueton. in *Tiberio*, c. 52.

rocky deserts and solitary islands, and there given themselves up to such religious compunction, as produced amendment of life ; and, after many years of bitter sorrow, lightened the load of the heart, and cheered it gradually with some humble hopes of mercy, with some gleams and rays of true felicity.

AH! no. *Tiberius's* purpose of retirement had nothing holy or happy in it. It was originally owing partly to the crafty artifice of his prime minister, partly to *Tiberius's* worldly sense of his own shame. *Pudore scelerum & libidinum*. At Rome he sometimes could not avoid over-hearing *voces illas veras & graves, & probra quibus per occultum lacerabatur* ; sometimes he was even reproached to his face for his vile actions.

IN the choice of the place of his solitude, *Tiberius* shewed no symptoms of a heart touched with a penitential sense of its crimes *. Innocence might have properly delighted itself in such a retreat : but a true penitent would never have been curious in selecting so delightful a spot, nor thought himself worthy of such an habitation.

BUT,

* *Insula in Favonium obversa, & aperto circum pelago peramæna, prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 67.*

BUT, though pleasantness of situation is a circumstance by no means suitable to the just idea of a penitential retirement, yet (our monk might say) it is nevertheless possible, that *Tiberius* might employ his time well there. I know nothing of his history, though I have lived so long at *Rome*; and though my bare feet every day tread on this hill, which (I think I have heard) was once the principal part of the city. Such kind of history is not our study: our study is chiefly the piety of those happy men, who have sanctified by their retirements the deserts of *Scete*, and the mountains of *Alverno*, or *Chartreuse*. Pray inform me what was *Tiberius's* frame of mind, and manner of life in his solitude?

Malum otium, luxus, libido, sævitia,

Were these devils the constant possessors of his soul?

THEY seem to have been so; except when at intervals conscience arose in all her blackest terrors, astonished him, overwhelmed him, almost drove him mad. *Non enim illum fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse pœnas fateretur. Ad senatum enim his verbis orsus est epistolam, " Quid scribam vobis, Patres Con-*
" scripti, hoc tempore, aut quomodo non scribam, aut
" quid

" quid amminò scribam, Dì me Deæque pejus perdant ;
 " quàm perire quotidie sentio si scio. Adeo facinora
 " atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verte-
 " rant ; neque frustrà præstantissimus sapientiæ (q.
 " Plato) firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyranno-
 " rum mentes, posse aspici laniatus & cruciatus ;
 " quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine,
 " malis consultis animus dilaceretur."

BUT why (continued *Crito*) should I imagine myself talking on this subject with one of the inhabitants of the adjoining convent? It is with you, my fellow-travellers, that I am really conversing.

YOU will soon, from the key and mole of *Naples*, see that unhappy island, which is become eternally infamous by the cursed actions of its diabolical inhabitant, *Tiberius*. You will see it in every airing, which you shall take towards the suburbs of *Pausilypo* or *Maddalena* ; but never will you have any desire to make a nearer approach to it, or to set your feet on its shore.

*Effugimus scopulos Ithacæ, Laertia regna,
 Et terram altricem sævi execramur Ulyssis.*

IN the same environs of *Naples* you will perhaps see other hellish objects : I mean the horrors of
 the

the neighbouring volcanoes, which frequently burst forth in roaring rivers of liquid fire, in clouds of darkness, and showers of flaming brimstone.

THESE horrors you will observe with awe, if an eruption of mount *Vesuvius* should happen while you are at *Naples*: at all other times, your eyes will be charmed with the serenity and sweetness of the landscapes, and real *Elysian* fields on the *Neapolitan* coast; that coast, which in general (according to the proverb) *e un pezzo di ciel caduto in terra*. A young poet indeed (who had filled his mind with the ideas of *Pindar* or *Virgil*) might represent that coast as an emblem of the regions of the blessed: but never, I believe, did any man of the plainest education look upon *Vesuvius*, during an eruption, without almost instantaneously considering it as an emblem, or rather visible type, of hell.

YET, alas! how great is the difference! The conflagration of that hill, however horrid, is not an unquenchable flame; that is not an everlasting fire.

No wonder, that guilty minds should deeply feel the presentiments of their future unspeakable misery.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, in *Plutarch's* book *Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*, a passage very applicable to your present topic *. But there is no occasion to quote learned writers for those sentiments which are most loudly expressed by the voice of universal nature. Both the illiterate and the learned, the rich and the poor, the high and low, are all liable to the irresistible influence of conscience. With what attention, my dear young friends, have we often observed in *England* a large audience, composed of the most different ranks and kinds of men, all in deep silence listening to those scenes of *Shakespeare*, in which the terrors of conscience are exemplified? I mean particularly the conclusion of the tragedies of *Richard the Third*, and *Macbeth*.

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me? —

Ob!

* Οὐτὸ μακάριον ἐν ἀγορᾷ νομιζέται·
Ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνοίξῃ τὰς θύρας, τρεῖς ἀδελφοί.

Ἡ εἰς αὐτὴν κακία αἰεὶ συνοικῶσα τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ πρὸς-
πεφυκῆς νυκτὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν

Εὖτε ἀτερὸς δαλῶ, καὶ ὡμῶς γῆραι δώσει.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ καθευδεῖ, τὸ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ὑπὸ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνα-
πανσις, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ὥσθιαι καὶ οὐεῖροι καὶ ταραχαὶ διὰ δεισι-
δαιμονίαν. Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν τῆς κακίας; εἰ μὴδαμὲν τὸ ἀμε-
ριμονοῦν, μὴδαμὲν ἀταραξία, μὴδαμὲν ησυχία.

*Ob! the affliction of those terrible dreams
That shake us nightly! Better be with the dead,
Than on such torture of the mind to lie.
Ob! full of scorpions is my mind.—I'm fill'd with
horror.*

IN this respect the castle of *Dunfinane* seems strongly to have resembled the palace of *Tiberius* in *Capree*.

* * *

IF you please, said *Crito*, we will resume our classic studies. My own conscience presses on me too hard for me to be able to contain these moral reflections. May Heaven have mercy on us all!

SPEAKING these words, *Crito* turned round, and with a slow and pensive step walked across the *Capitoline* area to the opposite building, the *Palazzo dei conservatori*.

IN the court of that building, on the left hand against the wall, stands a large stone urn, on which is an antique inscription in characters very deeply cut.

O S S A

AGRIPPINÆ, M. AGRIPPÆ, DIVI AUGUSTI
NEPTIS, UXORIS GERMANICI, &c.

THE young gentlemen, after having for some time surveyed this sepulchral urn with melancholy pleasure, gave their attention to *Crito*, who with a down-cast look proceeded as follows.

IF we consider *Germanicus* in his domestic life, we shall find him in that, as well as in other parts of his character, infinitely more respectable, infinitely more happy than *Tiberius*.

TIBERIUS was indeed in his earlier years a good brother: (the temper of *Drusus* being perhaps irresistibly amiable) but he afterwards became an enemy to all his family; he was a bad son, and a cruel husband to a wicked wife.

GERMANICUS on the contrary seems to have practised many of the virtues, and to have enjoyed many of the felicities of a family-life: for he was at first a good brother, and a good son; he afterwards (according to the usual progress of such a character) became a good father.

BUT let me desire you at present to consider him in his *conjugal* station.

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THE dignity and happiness of *Germanicus* were both very considerably encreased by his marriage with *Agrippina*.

THE character of *Agrippina* would indeed have been more amiable, if to her many other virtues she had added a greater degree of meekness and humility; if she had been less sensible of the high quality of her family, and of her own real merit: but (standing as we are at present before *that* urn, which probably for many centuries contained her bones) let us do that justice, let us pay that due tribute to her very respectable memory, to own that, among the matrons of heathen *Rome*, *Agrippina* is (notwithstanding these defects) one of the principal examples of conjugal virtue.

SHE attained that dignity of character partly by her own native goodness, partly by the influence and assistance of her beloved husband's example.

CRITO now paused for some moments to wipe away the tears which stood in his eyes, and which really hindered him from reading his paper of notes.

IN her arms (continued *Crito* with a groan) *Germanicus* expired; with her alone had he passed

his life from his earliest years: for he had the *great happiness* (may all the young part of this company have the same!) of *marrying early*; and of soon blessing both himself and his parents with the sight of no less than six of his children.

O MY noble young friend, you who so frequently enquire after proper subjects in the *Roman* story, on which you may employ some of the painters, whether *English* or *Italian*, now in this city; what subject can you find either more pleasing, or more instructive, than the scene of *Augustus*, placed on his imperial seat; and enacting the laws against celibacy*, which at that time (in a manner much more destructive than any civil war) was wasting and extirpating the greatest families in *Rome*. Seated in that state, (perhaps on this very hill) he commanded that his great grandchildren, the children of *Germanicus*, should be brought into his presence. He then, in sight of the whole senate, took up some of these little ones
in

* The young reader is most earnestly referred on this occasion to the beginning of the fifty-sixth book of *Dio Cassius*, pag. 573—578. He is desired also to consult *Universal History*, vol. xiv. pag. 20.—*Tacit.* lib. iii. c. 25.—*Frenshem.* lib. lix. c. 53. with its note.

Augustus libros totos & senatui recitavit, & populo notos per edictum sæpe fecit: ut orationes Q. Metelli de prole augendâ, & Rutilii de modo ædificiorum, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non à se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse.

Sueton. Augustus 89.

in his arms ; others he placed on the knees of the young prince their father ; and with all the happy and amiable pride of a parent, shewed to the assembly all these his treasures ; inviting the young nobility of *Rome* to be sensible of such happiness, and to hasten to follow the example of his *Germanicus*. *Ne gravarentur imitari juvenis exemplum.*

SUH was *Germanicus* when he had scarce completed his twenty-fourth year. — Compare with this charming spectacle some parts of the character of *Tiberius*.

BUT indeed the contrast now grows far too dismal and horrid to be described either by pen or pencil. Its horrors are greatly augmented by the consideration, that *Tiberius's* enormous wickedness was continued to his old age. For (as I before observed) he seems not ever to have endeavoured to wash away with bitter tears the black and dismal crimes, of which he had been guilty.

No wonder ; that, as soon as the death of this vilest of tyrants was publicly known, the universal hatred and detestation of his memory should break forth with the greatest indignation and fury. No wonder ; that, in all the streets which encompass this hill, the populace should be crying out

with the loudest clamours ; some, that his vile corpse, as unworthy of sepulture, should be cast into the river ; (*Tiberius in Tiberim*) others, that it should with all ignominy be dragged from the palace-gates to the *public gibbet* ; or exposed, like the bodies of other *far less guilty* malefactors, on the *Scale Gemoniæ*.

BUT let us not think any longer on this hateful subject.

IN contrast to this dishonourable conclusion of *Tiberius's* infamous life, let us turn our eyes again to the history of *Germanicus*.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, with what pleasure did you while at *Lyons* visit the pleasant hill, and survey the magnificent prospect of *Antiquaille* & *Forviere* *, the place where *Germanicus* is said (I know not on what authority) to have been *born* ? With what affection did you yesterday visit the place of his *sepulture* in the *Campo Marzo* ? From his cradle to his grave the character of *Germanicus* was indeed almost always amiable as well as respectable.

Virtutum

* Perhaps a corruption of the words *Antiquum Palatium feri veteris*.

Virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit : maxime probatus & dilectus a suis : dilectus etiam ab omnibus, in vitâ ; & multò magis in morte, & post mortem.

HIS reputation was so great as to have gained him multitudes of friends and admirers, even in countries which he had never seen. *Flebant Germanicum etiam ignoti.*

MUCH stronger probably was the love and veneration of those who had really felt and been made happy by his goodness. The provincials, of whom he had been governor, the allies of the Roman empire, to whom he had been a very benevolent general and commander ; even the enemies of Rome, to whom (after the horrors of the campaign were passed) he had been a merciful conqueror, all these cordially joined in honouring the memory and lamenting the fate of *Germanicus*.

BUT in relation to *Italy*, but in relation to *Rome*, the sincere affection and zealous love, which was here borne to *Germanicus* while alive, and the general grief, desolation, and even despair which attended and for a long time followed his departure, these were in all respects so very great, as far to exceed any power of description ; with which even the genius of this place (the genius which you, my dear poetic pupil, may suppose hovering over

and protecting this urn of *Agrippina*) can possibly inspire us.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus

Tam chari capitis? Præcipe lugubres

Cantus, Melpomene! cui liquidam pater

Vocem cum citharâ dedit.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, continued *Crito* after some pause, if in our *Levant* travels we should ever pitch our tent amidst the ruins of *Antioch*, shall we not then, among many other subjects of meditation, recollect the death of *Germanicus*? Shall we not there give some serious thoughts to the scene of his last hour?

YET let me observe, that this scene would have been far more noble, if *Germanicus* had not then excited his friends to *revenge* his death. With a trembling voice let me add, that his virtue would have been far more perfect, if (like *St. Stephen*, or like some HOLIER PERSON, who was then living in sacred retirement in the neighbouring province of *Galilee*) he had expired blessing and praying for his murderers.

BUT let us not at present carry our thoughts so far as to our eastern travels. During our short intended tour of the kingdom of *Naples*, we shall see

see several places, which will strongly remind us of *Germanicus's* death.

DURING that tour, you will certainly pass some days at *Brindisi*. While you, my dear pupil, shall be walking in the thick olive-groves, with which that fertile coast is covered, and viewing from thence the two famous *horns* of that spacious haven; will you not be frequently inclined to recollect *Tacitus's* description of *Agrippina* landing at *that* port with the urn of *Germanicus* in her hands? and will not that recollection awaken in your mind some ideas of a sweet poetic melancholy?

IN your return from *Brindisi* to the northern parts of *Italy*, particularly at *Terracina*, you will call to mind the great public love, admiration, and grief, which followed the urn of *Germanicus* from *Brundisium* through all the provinces of *Italy*, to his grave at *Rome*.

I AM the more inclined to believe, that you will be strongly affected with this recollection, as in your journey through *France*, particularly when you were in the neighbourhood of *Straßburgh*, you often re-perused, and sometimes not without tears of pleasure, the descriptions given by the *French* historians of that public love and veneration which attended the corpse of *Turenne* through all the cities

cities and provinces of that great kingdom, to the royal mausolæum at *St. Dennis*.

I REMEMBER also the pleasure you expressed at the similar public respect, which was paid in our own country to the memory of our late youthful hero, *General Wolfe*. What address did any city or country then present to the throne of *Great Britain*, in which *General Wolfe's* name was not mentioned with terms of the greatest praise and love? I remember also your description of that eloquence, with which the House of Commons was then moved to vote (and it was voted *unanimously*) that a sepulchre should be erected to his memory at the public charge in *Westminster Abbey*.

BUT through what wanderings of thought have I led you? Permit me to close my paper of notes by desiring you to employ some of your first leisure hours in perusing afresh *Tacitus's* account of the general grief of *Rome* on the death of *Germanicus*. The great strength of sense of that historian will make ample amends to you for your patience in listening to whatever may have been the improprieties or follies of my imagination.

LET me, however, in proof of the utility which may be derived from the contrast of such characters, as those which I have this day endeavoured
to

to place before your eyes, submit to your reflections three or four lines of that historian,

*Exequi insignia per honestum, aut notabili dedecore præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit *.*

* * *

CRITO having now concluded the morning's lecture, folded up his papers with a sigh, and sat down in silence.

HIS young friends entered into an ardent debate on some particulars which he had mentioned towards the conclusion of his lecture.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen compared the glorious fate of General *Wolfe* to that of *Epaminondas*; and repeated with energy some expressions of *Valerius Maximus*. *Si eum Di immortales victoriis suis perfrui passi essent sospes gloriosior patriæ mania non intrasset.*

THE young nobleman recollected several circumstances relative to the death of *Marshall Turenne*.

* *Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 64.*

renne. He lamented *Drusus* also cut down in the flower of his age during his *German* campaign. He then made some remarks on the excellence of that marble bust, which they had just now seen in the *Capitoline* musæum, and which represents *Drusus* in the prime of manhood.

YET why, said *Crito's* pupil, should the early death of *Drusus* be lamented? *Drusus* certainly had the happiness (the greatest happiness which a father can feel) of leaving a son who excelled him in virtue; a *Germanicus*.

Πατρὸς δ' οὕγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Both father indeed and son died young: but neither of their deaths can be reckoned premature. For let us look only on the family of the *Cæsars*, and compare the short lives of *Drusus* and *Germanicus* with those of *Caligula* and *Nero*, none of whom survived the thirtieth year of his age; and surely we shall not want a proof that the *height of human glory*, as well as the *depth of infamy*, may be the consequence of the virtues and vices practised within those years.

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THE conversation now took some fresh *detours*; though in all the labyrinth of its unavoidable wanderings it still in general led to the proper object of this day's study the history of *Tiberius's* reign.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen spoke with proper respect of the historian *Cremutius Cordus*: he repeated on that occasion with pleasure some expression of *Seneca* *. He then proceeded with horror to some of the other cruelties of *Tiberius*, and of (that infamy of prime ministers) *Sejanus*.

CRITO mentioned from *Tacitus* the banishment of some thousand Jews by *Tiberius* into the marshes of *Sardinia* — *si interirent, vile damnum*. He also mentioned from *Philo Judæus* *Sejanus's* design of extirpating the whole Jewish nation.

CRITO's pupil on this occasion compared *Sejanus* to *Haman*; and following that track of thought, recollected several verses of *Racine's Esther*, which seemed to him very applicable to the sudden fall of *Sejanus*.

*J'ai vu l'Impie adoré sur la terre :
Pareil au cedre il cachoit dans les cieux
Son front audacieux.*

II

* See *Seneca's* consolation to *Martia*. *Martia* was the daughter of *Cremutius Cordus*.

Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre :
 Fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus.
 Je n'ai fait que passer ; il n'étoit déjà plus.—
 Misérable ! Le Dieu vengeur de l'innocence
 Tout prêt à te juger, tient déjà sa balance :
 Bientot son juste arrêt te sera prononcé.
 Tremble. Ton jour approche, & ton règne est fini.
 ————— le Traître est expiré.
 Par le peuple en fureur à moitié déchiré :
 On traîne, on va donner en spectacle funeste
 De son corps tout sanglant le misérable reste.

* * *

THE company now went out of the court of the *Palazzo dei conservatori*. But the fall of *Sejanus* continued to be their topic, while they were walking down the slope of the *Capitoline* hill towards the forum.

I HAVE been lately reading, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Dion Cassius's* account of the grandeur and fall of that infamous court-favourite *.

DION's reflections on the vanity of all human pride strike me at present very strongly, while op-
 positite

* *Dio Cassius*, book lviii. p. 623 to 630.

posite to us, on the *Palatine* mount, I see the ruins of that building, which *Sejanus* entered full of pride, full of expectation of being *that morning* invested with the tribunitian power. Close on our right hand is the temple of Concord, in which in the *afternoon of the same day* *Sejanus* was unanimously condemned to death; about one hundred yards on our left is the prison, in which *before night* he was strangled*.

IN that dismal evening he saw perhaps from the grates of his cell the destructions of his statue in *this* forum, and heard the curses of the people on his memory.

THE then felt *vanity* of his excessive honours, riches, and ambitious hopes, must, together with the conscience of his horrid crimes, have greatly embittered the deep distress of his last hour.

Ergo quod optandum foret ignorasse fatendum est

Sejanum : nam qui nimios optabat honores,

Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat

Extelsæ

* The antique inscription now remaining on the prison walls was engraven in the ædileship of *Vibius* and *Cocceius Nerva*. They were consuls about four or five years after *Sejanus's* death. See *Abate Venuti*, vol. i. p. 58. The *Scala Gemoniæ*, where *Sejanus's* body was cast, were situate in that short, crooked, and steep lane, which passes by the side of the *Tullian* prison, and leads up to the *Capitol*.

*Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus, & impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.*

CRITO's pupil repeated some verses of *Shakespeare* relative to Cardinal *Wolfey*. I have often, added he, thought of those verses in passing thro' *Leicester*: we had fresh occasion to recollect them some weeks ago, when we were shewn the *Palazzo*, which was built by that Cardinal's orders, here at *Rome*.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, that when we were at *Milan* I met with a passage in *St. Austin's* works, which seems very applicable to the topic on which you are now conversing. It is the reflection of a person, who (if I am not mistaken) was of considerable rank in the court of the *Roman* emperor, predecessor to *Theodosius*.

“ WITH all the pains we take, what doth our
“ ambition aspire to? What is it we seek, and
“ propose to ourselves?

“ CAN we have any greater hopes at court than
“ to arrive at the favour of the emperor? *Per*
“ *quot pericula pervenitur ad illud grandius pericu-*
“ *lum? Et quamdiu istud erit?*

Amicus autem DEI, si voluero, ecce nunc fio.

THE conversation now dwelt a considerable time on the outward splendor, but frequent real misery, of a ministerial or court life.

THE young nobleman communicated to his friends several very important reflections, which he had heard from his father on these subjects.

* * *

THE company returned to their lodgings about dinner-time. But *Crito* made some excuse for not dining with them. He retired to his closet, and (it being *Saturday* afternoon) applied himself, as usual, to some sacred studies.

THE object of his meditation was a character remarkably contrary to the wickedness of this world; contrary as light to darkness: the character of the austere, pure, and holy St. *John* the Baptist.

IT was *about the time of Sejanus's death*, that St. *John* came preaching in *Judæa* the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

CRITO passed some moments in considering this holy character in comparison with those which are generally found in *kings houses*: but he soon quitted that kind of thought, and began to apply the weighty doctrine of penitence *home to his own heart*.

WHY should he look for faults among other men? He found enough in the memory of his own actions.

IN deep compunction of mind he shed several tears. He applied himself afresh to the study of the life of St. *John* the Baptist; he afterwards took up the poetical translation of the *Psalter*, lately published at *Arezzo*, by *Peter Rossi*; and perused two or three of the penitential Psalms.

HE perused also some part of that copy of verses, which is prefixed to the work, and in which the author thus addresses himself to the *Hebrew* Psalmist.

— *Canendi spiritum mihi impetra
Tuo refusus qui calebat pectore,
Tuis ut instem proximus vestigiis,
Tuosque sensus, et verenda intelligam
Tuis reposta versibus mysteria. —
Id si negetur, et frequenti crimine
Cæcata mens spectare non tam altum potest,
Placare læsi me doce iram Numinis
Tua æmulantem exempla, et illas intimo
E corde ductas ac salubres lacrymas,
Quibus juventæ tu piasti improvidæ
Errata, et æquum leniisti judicem.
Id si impetraro, multò erit jucundius,
Quàm si tua æmuler canendo carmina.*

CHAP. V.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the account of yesterday's transactions, no notice was taken of the manner in which the young gentlemen employed the afternoon.

THEY revisited the Capitol, with an intention of collecting in that place part of this morning's lecture : they passed some time there, conversing on the conclusion of *Tiberius's* wicked reign : they afterwards descended into the *Campo Vaccino*.

IN that part of the *Roman Forum*, which lies between the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, stands a single marble column, of the *Corinthian* order, fluted, and about fifty feet in height.

IT is the opinion of some antiquarians, said the young nobleman, that this column made part of that bridge, which the successor of *Tiberius* built across the *Forum*. It may, with more probability perhaps, be supposed to have made part of some

of those temples, or porticoes, over which that bridge was carried.

I HAVE often thought, that such a bridge, thus joining the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, might be of real and considerable convenience to the public : it probably saved much time, and many a wearisome step, to the industrious inhabitants of this part of *Rome*, which, in the time of *Caligula*, was the most populous, or at least the most frequented.

BUT, alas ! far different was the motive of *Caligula* : his design in the erection of that bridge, was not beneficence to his subjects, but the indulgence of his own most absurd, and impious pride.

IN the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which stood near those three columns of *Jupiter Stator*, *Caligula* frequently seated himself between the statues of the *Dioscuri* ; and from their temple he built this bridge to the Capitol, merely that he might, with more convenience and ease to himself, go often to receive the same horrid adoration in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

As to *Jupiter*, replied *Crito's* pupil, if we consider the history of that king of *Crete*, as given
by

by the poets, we shall not find his character to have been much better than that of *Caligula*.

BUT the inhabitants of the *Grecian* and *Roman* world (such was the extreme absurdity of paganism) to the word *Jupiter* connected a most different idea : the idea of the Great Creator and Preserver of the universe, the Most Beneficent, the Most Holy. If we consider the affair in this light, horrid indeed was the wickedness of *Caligula*, in daring to assume such a name.

I REMEMBER reading sometime ago with my tutor, the account given by *Josephus* and *Philo* of *Caligula's* attempt to profane even the temple of *Jerusalem* by erecting his statue in it.

To what *incredible* degrees of *madness* does human pride sometimes extend !

A *Babylonian* monarch (if I am not mistaken) could so far yield to the flattery of his courtiers, as to forbid his subjects offering any petition to any god or man, but himself : this *Roman* emperor was impious enough to claim even *DIVINE* honours ; though he was in reality one of the vilest of monsters.

O MY dear friends, what a place of horror was then *that Palatine* mount ?

*Cur non aperte tum fuerunt calorū catara-
ctæ ?*

Cur non rupti erant fontes abyssi magni ?

SURELY no antediluvian wickedness could be greater than that of *Caligula's* court.

AT least, why did not the *Tiber* then swell with ten-fold abundance of torrents, to wash away that *Palatine* hillock, and drown all the *Roman Campagna* in a broad asphaltite lake ; while the *Tusculan* and *Sabine* mountains poured forth on it their sulphurous materials by the eruption of an hundred volcanoes ?

BUT why should such expressions fall from my lips ? Notwithstanding the unutterable abominations of the imperial palace, and great corruption of the public manners, there were doubtless, even during this reign, multitudes in *Rome* of a very different character. Of its meaner inhabitants several thousands probably lived in the faithful practice of the duties of their station, according to the light of nature. Many, in all likelihood,
were

were the virtuous persons then engaged in agriculture, commerce, or trade; many honest men were to be found in the professions. Some also, who were blessed by Providence with a more independent fortune, and who from the kindness of their parents had received a more ornamented education, passed their days happily in studious privacy; masters of their own time, and disposing it to the best purposes, meditation and works of beneficence. From the vain occupations of this vast city, from the false pleasures, honours, and riches, *recepere se ad tranquilliora, tutiora, majora. Tenuit illos in hoc genere vitæ multum bonarum artium, amor virtutum atque usus, cupiditatum obli-vio; vivendi atque moriendi scientia, alta rerum quies* *.

IN all probability there were also, even in the higher conditions of life, several who lived in the practice of much moral virtue.

THERE was one eminent example of merit, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, even in the family of *Caligula*: I mean his father-in-law, the wife and good *M. Silanus*. But he could not live there long: he was one of the many persons

P 4

who

* See *Seneca de brevitate vitæ*: a treatise which was written (according to *Lipsius*) within some few days after the death of *Caligula*. *Modò intra paucos illos dies, quibus Caius Cæsar periit, &c.*

who perished by that tyrant's cruelty and ingratitude. *Caianæ cladis erat magna portio.*

YOUR temper, my dear friend, is meekness itself : *χρυσίου ωισον*. I use this expression in the same good sense in which *Dio* understood it. But it is no dishonour to such a temper, that it can kindle itself into a proper indignation at the thoughts of that most horrid impiety, that most abominable wickedness, that most bloody despotism, which reigned day and night in the court of *Caligula*.

*Hoc isti bellæ quotidianum est : ad hæc vivit, ad hæc vigilat, ad hæc lucubrat **.

EVEN if we were to confine our thoughts to the last article, I mean to political considerations, most odious surely ought to be the name, and most execrable the memory of that supreme magistrate, who could wish, that it was in his power to bid the ax fall on the neck of his whole people.

LET us not think any longer on his cursed reign. Let us rather reflect with satisfaction, that we are at present only some few steps distant from *that place*, where this tyrant received his due punishment from the hand of *Chærea* ; *Chærea*, the third *Brutus*.

BUT

* *Seneca de irâ, lib. iii. c. 18.*

BUT I ought to hasten to correct that *verbum ardens* : *Caligula* deserved a more severe fate than either *Tarquin* or *Julius Cæsar* : but *Chærea* stained his glory by the murder of *Cæsonia* and her infant-daughter ; a crime, of which certainly neither *Junius* nor *Marcus Brutus* would on any account have been guilty.

I REMEMBER when in my more youthful years, I read the history of *Caligula's* death, I felt much regret at the thought that such an opportunity for restoring the republic, offered itself in vain. For in vain was it that the walls of the Parliament-house on *that Capitoline* hill then echoed with the cry of liberty : the people crowded to the gates ; not as antiently to applaud the conscript fathers for their zeal in their country's freedom ; not, as in other times, to vent their jealous murmurs for some supposed infringement of the popular privileges ; but to demand the immediate nomination of a new Despote.

I was, while at the university, red-hot with some democratic notions, and consequently I was highly shocked at this astonishing instance of *Roman* degeneracy. But as my admiration of *republican* liberty in particular is since that time very much cooled (though my zeal for liberty in general, I hope will always burn with due fervour and flame) so also is my indignation against the
Romans

Romans for their behaviour on this occasion somewhat abated. The *Roman* people had too much reason to remember the bloody history of the former civil wars; they had equal reason to fear that the dissensions in the senate, and the disobedience of the army, might soon (if a new emperor was not immediately elected) produce a renewal of the same calamities; calamities, which after much confusion and anarchy, much misery and blood-shed, would certainly terminate, as the former, in the establishment of a new absolute master.

BESIDES, there was another motive for their conduct: a motive in itself inexcusable, but which operated without resistance. The *origo mali* lay deep in the constitution of their heart, but necessarily shewed its virulence by these exterior symptoms. *Vice* had so much weakened and enfeebled all the nerves and muscles of the *national Roman* mind, as to render it neither worthy nor susceptible of the labours and perils of any kind of liberty.

THE city of *Rome*, replied the young nobleman, was indeed at that time corrupted by vice, in a much more dreadful manner than ever by any pestilence. For notwithstanding the charitable suppositions of our good friend here, certainly the
imperial

imperial court, the nobility, the people breathed forth infernal contagion on each other.

HORRID as was the character of *Caligula*, yet his crimes would not have been so enormous, if he had ruled over a better nation.

MUCH of his wickedness is to be attributed to insanity of understanding : but more to the badness of his own heart, and to the examples among which he lived.

BUT let us not talk any longer on his enormous crimes. If we could banish *them* totally from our memory, I should then venture to consider the other parts of his character in a cooler manner ; and to apply to them some reflections with which I remember your tutor favoured us on a former occasion.

HE observed *, that the folly and vice, the pride and cruelty, which shock us in reading some parts of the *Roman* history, are only the extremes of that abuse, which we see every day made of less degrees of wealth and power.

I REMEMBER also my father's observing to me, that many young men of fortune in our own country,

* See page 326 of the first volume.

country, while reading *Caligula's* reign, look on its contents as almost incredible : yet happy ought they to esteem themselves, if in their future life some of them do not become really of a very similar character ; that is, as far as their inferior degrees of wealth and power will permit : in a word, though innocent of his enormous crimes, yet otherwise *Caligula* in miniature : bad in domestic life ; hating their aged relations ; but living in intimacy with gamesters, jockeys, and stage-players ; proud ; luxurious ; fickle ; impiously ungrateful to heaven for all its blessings ; lavishing their fortunes in various kinds of folly ; and then from want oppressing their tenants, and other dependants : —dupes —fripons —tyrants*.

BUT let us quit this topic. If you please to take a little tour in the coach this evening, it may carry us round the *Cælian* hill, and from thence home by the *Strada Felice*.

CRITO's pupil, and his other companion, readily consented to this proposal of the young nobleman.

IN several parts of the *Cælian* hill they observed many lofty arches of a ruined aqueduct.

THAT

* See *Dio's Caligula*. Χρηματα αφειδιστα αυηλοχε, & ρυπαρωτατα υργυρολογει.

THAT aqueduct, said the young nobleman, if I am not mistaken, was begun in the second year of *Caligula's* reign : for thanks to Providence *some* good is done to mankind even by the worst of men *. It was finished by *Claudius* ; according to the inscription still remaining over the *Porta Maggiore*. As the *Strada Felice* is not very far from that gate, we may, if you please, tell the coachman to drive thither.

* * *

THE *Porta Maggiore* is a stately monument †, erected by the emperor *Titus* in memory of the great work of the *Claudian* aqueduct. Over its arches are three inscriptions, the upper one of which is as follows.

Ti.

* *Quid Nerone pejus?*

Quid thermis melius Neronianis?

Mart.

† *Quest' edificio e uno de' piu belli dell' antica Roma ; ed e d' altezza e di grossezza piu di ogni altro singolare. E fabbricato di macigni di travertino congiunti insieme senza calce ; sostenuto di quattro grandi archi con colonne alla rustica d'ordine Ionico. — Per comprendere di qual magnificenza siano gli archi di questo monumento basta sapere che quello, che in oggi forma la porta, ha di lunghezza palmi 49, e ciascun pezzo di travertino e grosso palmi 3 once 3 lungo palmi 9 once 5, e taluno 2½ ed e composta tutta l'alta e vasta arcata di soli 26 pezzi di pietra.*

Abate Venuti, v. p. 124, 125.

Ti. Claudius Drusi. f. Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontif. Maxim. Tribunicia potestate XII. Cos. v. Imperator XXVII. Pater Patriæ aquas Claudiam ex fontibus qui vocantur cæruleus et Curtius, a milliar xxxv. item Anienem novum a milliario LXII. suâ impensâ in urbem perducendas curavit.

THE two inscriptions, which are subjoined to this, are in honour of *Vespasian* and *Titus*. Each of which emperors thought it an honour to repair or improve this aqueduct.

IT is observed, said the young nobleman, I think either by *Suetonius* or *Aurelius Victor*, that *Vespasian* repaired several of *Claudius's* works, as well as completed that temple on *Monte Cælio*, which was erected in his honour, but which had been ungratefully neglected, or in part demolished, by *Nero*.

As to the temple, it would have been certainly much better, if *Vespasian* had left it in its ruins ; the aqueduct, on the other hand, as a work of public benefit, had a just claim on him, and on all future emperors, for its support.

THE water conveyed to *Rome* by this aqueduct was of great convenience to the inhabitants ; especially to those who then in great numbers dwelt on the summit of her seven hills : it was also in
its

its nature almost equally good with the *Aqua Martia*; and consequently it seems to have been well worth the expence and labour of its conveyance; though exclusive of its long subterranean channel, and of its upper canal, it is carried upon arches in different places near ten miles. The new river from the *Anio*, which is joined to the *Aqua Claudia*, is also carried about seven miles upon arches; several of which are one hundred feet in height.

It seems very strange, said *Crito's* pupil, that such a reign as that of *Claudius* should be ennobled by so splendid and so useful a work.

CLAUDIUS's mind was generally buried in the deepest stupidity; stupidity encreased by gluttony and other vices: yet surely it must have been at times surprisngly illuminated by some lucid interval of good sense, or by some brighter ray of benevolence.

SUETONIUS observes of *Claudius*, as to his behaviour when seated on the tribunals of justice, *Mirâ animi varietate fuit; modo circumspēctus, & sagax; modo inconsultus, ac præceps; nonnunquam frivolus, amentique similis.* The same observation is doubtless applicable to the other parts of *Claudius's* history.

IT should seem indeed at first sight probable, that the actions of wise benevolence, with which *Claudius's* reign is adorned, (which were numerous, and some of which required a vigorous and a continued exertion of reasoning) are to be ascribed to the virtues and abilities of his ministry; especially as his reign was a reign of favourites. But on the contrary history assures us, that *Claudius's* ministry was in general composed of persons much more wicked than himself: persons whose total attention seem to have been given to works of various vices, but peculiarly of rapaciousness, pride, and bloody revenge. Such at least was the character of his empresses, *Messalina* and *Agrippina*; and perhaps also of his two head-servants, *Narcissus* and *Pallas*. In a word, it was a court fit only for the education of a *Nero*.

DIO seems to charge most of the crimes of this reign to the prevailing influence of the courtiers, and to leave the merit of all the laudable acts and benevolent designs in it to the emperor himself; though the emperor was sensible only by fits; and (what appears still more contradictory) frequently very cruel. For *Claudius* was cruel, not only from a false notion of justice, or from a cowardly self-preservation, or lastly from a shamefully stupid submission to the will of his ministry; but also (according to *Suetonius*) from a
real

real delight in the most shocking acts of inhumanity*.

IN what manner then can we account for this paradox? Certainly we cannot do it in a better manner than by considering it (according to the hint which you just now gave us) as one of the many proofs, that there is an over-ruling Providence; a Providence, which originally created light of darkness, and which both in public and in private affairs, sometimes condescends to draw good out of evil; to employ the hands even of the wicked, and the counsels of madmen or fools, as instruments in performing some of its all-wise and all-gracious designs for the benefit of mankind.

* * *

THE company now stepped into their coach. In their way home the young nobleman took notice, that *Claudius's* reign was ennobled by another work still more beneficial to this vast city.

VOL. II.

Q

I MEAN,

* *Særum & sanguinarium fuisse magnis minimisque apparuit rebus.—Bestiariis, meridianisque adeò delectabatur, ut etiam primâ luce ad spectaculum descenderet; & meridiæ dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet; præterque destinatos etiam levi subitâque de causâ quosdam committeret: de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero si αυτοπατορ vel pegma vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset, &c.* Suetonius.

I MEAN, said he, the very useful sea-port, which this emperor made on that branch of the *Tiber* which lies some few miles north-west of *Ostia*.

I WISH, that when we were on our last excursion to *Ostia* *, we had taken that opportunity of viewing its remains, if any : I hope, however, that we shall visit the place before we take our leave of *Rome*. We will carry thither some prints and plans, as well as some antique medals, which have reference to that celebrated haven. Those medals and plans will be of the more use to us, as I am afraid we must not flatter ourselves, that we shall find many traces remaining either of its ornamental or of its more substantial parts. According to the description, which we have heard of *Fiumicino*, the winds and waves have totally changed the face of that shore.

Nunc tantum sinus, & statio malefida carinis.

BUT how deeply soever both the *moles* and *pharos* of *Claudius*'s haven may be now buried in the sands, yet it is some pleasure to consider, that its splendor is in some manner still subsisting in that place ; where, and where only, most of the grandeur of antient *Rome* is preserved ; I mean, in her history and her coins.

DIO

* See vol. i. pag. 29.

DIO Cassius's description of the grandeur, and public utility of this sea-port, is happily still remaining *. When I come to my lodgings, I will compare it with what *Dionysius* says of king *Anacrus's* haven.

IF I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, not only *Vespasian* and *Titus*, but the emperor *Trajan* also, among his many glorious labours for the benefit of this country, thought it an honour to repair some of the works of *Claudius*.

EXCESSIVE is the contempt which is generally cast on the memory of *Claudius*: equally excessive perhaps is the veneration paid to the name of *Trajan*.

WITH difficulty can it be imagined, that *Trajan* was in some respects an imitator of *Claudius*. Yet certainly in several instances he followed *Claudius's* designs: but in none more manifestly, than in the

Q 2

reparation

* The great famine which raged at *Rome* in *Claudius's* reign, prompted him to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*; which vast work he happily compleated, though *Cæsar* the dictator, if some mistake has not crept into *Suetonius*, had, many years before, attempted it in vain. It was an undertaking, says *Dio Cassius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire: but the successors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it: so that, soon after his death, it was choaked up with sand, and became quite useless. Universal History, vol. 14. p. 329.

reparation of that haven; for, if I am not mistaken, *Trajan* repaired *that* sea-port, as well as those of *Civita-Vecchia* and *Ancona*.

TRAJAN is said also to have prosecuted another project of *Claudius*; the project for draining the *Fucine* lake.

I HAVE often wished, replied the young nobleman, that some ingenious traveller, after having passed a year or two in making the common tour of *Italy*, would allow another year, not to the extending of his travels into the *Levant*, but rather to the visiting of those provinces of the *Tuscan*, *Ecclesiastic*, or *Neapolitan* state, which lie out of the beaten track of travellers, but which probably contain many curious remains of antiquity.

IN passing through the *Abruzzo* (for instance) he could not, I apprehend, fail of finding some very considerable remains of that work at the *Fucine* lake, which you mention; and which employed thirty thousand labourers during eleven years of *Claudius*'s reign.

WHAT would be your sentiments, my dear friend, in viewing that lake, and the channel of its *emissario*? If I should ever attend you thither, my thoughts would be perhaps employed in forming the idea of that magnificent but bloody spectacle
which

which *Claudius* exhibited on its waves ; while all the hills around it were covered with the inhabitants of that part of *Italy*, like the sides of a vast amphitheatre : but *your* mind would be busy in the *much more noble* contemplation of the real public utility of the project itself.

I AM confident you are of opinion, that this attempt of *Claudius*, though it failed of success, yet deserves to be mentioned in the *Roman* history with peculiar honour.

THE addition of such a supply of water to the current of the *Tiber*, was surely, according to *Dio*, (for *Tacitus* mentions the *Liris*) a design very favourable to the improvement of the inland navigation of *Italy*.

THE addition of so many thousand acres of fertile soil to its territory, was also a very important object. The space of ground covered by that lake, would have given bread to the inhabitants of many new towns ; if the scheme of draining it had not failed, first by the negligence or avarice of *Claudius's* ministry, and afterwards by the envy of *Nero*.

I REMEMBER, my dear friend, some of your observations on a similar topic, when we were
Q. 3
crossing

crossing the *Beemster* in *North Holland* * : it was some few days after we had been seeing *Corbulo's* canal from *Leyden* and *Delft* to *Maeslandt Sluys*.

THE draining of lakes, the opening of havens, the building of aqueducts, are indeed, said *Crito's* pupil, works of great public utility ; but I own myself much more pleased with some *other* actions of *Claudius's* reign.

WHEN I consider the vast multitudes, which then inhabited this extensive metropolis, I cannot help admiring and even loving the memory of *Claudius* for the constant, the anxious care which he took in supplying them with bread, during several years of scarcity and famine. *Ad subvehendos etiam hyberno tempore commeatus nihil non excogitavit.* A strange expression *that* of *Suetonius*,
if

* There is in *North Holland* an essay made of the possibility of draining great lakes ; by one about two leagues broad having been made firm land, within these forty years.

This makes that part of the country called *Beemster*, being now the richest soil of the province, lying upon a dead flat divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees, which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen of that sort.

There is one very great lake of fresh water still remaining in the province of *Holland* by the name of *Harlem Meer*, which might, they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of land. — Much discourse has there been about such an attempt, &c.

Sir *William Temple's* Account of *Holland*.

if *Claudius* was really (as is commonly imagined) sunk in *continual* stupidity.

WITH much greater veneration ought we to recollect *Claudius*'s philanthropic design of extending the privileges of this city to many of the nations which were subject to her dominion.

I SPEAK this in reference, not merely to his kindness to the people of *Ilium*, *Rhodes*, *Cos*, or *Byzantium* : *Claudius* was very generous in granting the *Roman* privileges to the natives of many other less celebrated countries. A generosity, which though much abused in many particular cases, and sometimes practised with great levity, yet certainly in general was highly laudable.

THIS intention of *Claudius* is shamefully ridiculed by the author of that satyrical treatise, commonly known by the title of the *Αποολοκυντῶσις*. I can scarce imagine *Seneca* to have been really the author of that piece ; at least of some passages which we now find in it : they are most contradictory to the contents of that oration, which he himself composed to be spoken by *Nero* at *Claudius*'s funeral * ; as well as to that epistle, which, some years before, he inscribed to *Polybius*. Permit me to repeat my hopes, that some critic may arise, able to clear *Seneca* from the dishonour of

Q 4

having

* See *Tacitus*, *Annal.* lib. xiii. c. 3.

having sat down to write so very mean-spirited a satire*.

IT is true, that the stupidity and wickedness of *Claudius* were at times excessive: but they both certainly had their intervals. This his intention, of which we are now speaking, was surely a design replete with humanity and true political wisdom; a design which would have done very great honour to the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, or *Marcus Aurelius*.

I REMEMBER reading with great pleasure, in the eleventh book of *Tacitus*, *Claudius's* speech from the throne on the admission of some of the *Gallic* nobility to seats in the *Roman* senate. In the debate, even those senators who opposed the bill, did not however make any objection to the privileges of *Roman* citizenship being granted to the inhabitants of that province.

IF

* Poison, and murder, domestic and civil treason, are no jests. *Capitalia crimina ludis*. (See Epigrams prefixed to *Consol. ad Helviam*) — It is said by *Dio*, the enemy of *Seneca*, that *Seneca* composed a satire on the memory of *Claudius* called the *Αποχολοκυντωσις*. But it does not appear certain, that the treatise we now have under that name, is really that work. — *De titulo libri inter eruditos non convenit. Beatus Rhenanus, qui reperisse & primus typis publicasse dicitur, ludum de morte Claudii Cæsaris appellasse potius quam sic invenisse creditur. Junius & omnes jam passim Claudii Cæsaris Αποχολοκυντωσιν, Dione præeunte nuncupatum vadunt.*

See *Fromondus's* præface to it in *Lipsius's* edition.

IF I am not mistaken, continued *Crito's* pupil, *our countrymen* are reckoned among the nations, to whom *Claudius* intended that favour. *Constituerat omnes Græcos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre.* Whether or no, the satyrift had any real foundation for this (probably much exaggerated) assertion, I cannot tell. But it should *seem* probable, from a passage in *Dio*, (if I remember it right) that the conditions offered by *Claudius* to the *Britons*, bore at least a mild and favourable appearance *.

BUT however that might be, surely such a flattering proposal could have but little weight with the *Britons*, in whose breasts a love of liberty, and a warm zeal for their country's true welfare has, I trust, always glowed. The privileges of the *Roman* citizenship might be some comfort, some considerable relief to the nations already sunk under the *Roman* yoke: but by the unconquered inhabitants of our island it never could be esteemed as any thing in the balance against the invaluable privileges of their native freedom.

MANY

* Ταυτα μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰ Βρεταννικὰ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἵνα
 ΓΕ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΡΑΟΝ ΕΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΙΩΣΙΝ, εἴηφιδη,
 τας συμβασεις ἀπασας, οσας αὖ ὁ Κλαυδιος, ἢ καὶ οἱ
 ἀντιστρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, πρὸς τινὰς ποιήσωνται, κυρίας, ὡς
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν βελὴν τοῦ τε δήμου, εἶναι.

Dio Cassius, lib. lx.

MANY thanks to you, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, for that noble sentiment. The glorious spirit of national liberty, which you express, beats in every pulse, I am sure, and pants in every breast of this company.

I HAD some intention to take a copy this afternoon of the inscription on that antique marble, which is preserved in the wall of the *Barberini* terras. But fired as we are at present by your generous sentiments, how could we bear to fix our eyes on such an object * ?

THERE is not (continued he, after a pause of some minutes, during which he seemed absorbed in deep thought) there is not any part of *Tacitus's* works, the loss of which, as *Englishmen*, we have more reason to regret, than those books of his *Annals*, which contained the beginning and first events of the *British* wars during *Claudius's* reign. *Dio's* history also

* The inscription on this marble (which marble perhaps originally stood over *Claudius's* triumphal arch in the *Viâ latâ*) is as follows.

TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.

AUGUSTO

Pontifici Max. Tr. p. IX.

Cof. V. Imp. 16. P. P.

Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quòd

Reges Britannicæ. Absque ullâ

Facturâ domuerit, Gentesque Barbaras

Primus indicio subegerit.

also in its present curtailed condition is by far too concise on that subject.

CLAUDIUS is said to have been in *Britain* little more than a fortnight. Probably he went over merely to accept the honour of the surrender of *Maldon*. *Suetonius* agrees with the *Barberini* marble in saying, that there was no bloodshed (at least, it may be supposed, among the *Roman* legions) on that occasion: but, according to *Dio*, there was a battle. In all probability there was no more either of a battle, or siege, than what was barely sufficient to qualify the emperor for the honour of a triumph, and to entitle him to treat the people with the shew of the siege of *Maldon*, or *Colchester*, acted in the *Campo Marzo* *. The invasion of *Britain* was indeed, as far as *Claudius* himself was concerned in it, little more than a vain pageantry: but in relation to *Plautius*, *Vespasian*, and his other lieutenants, it was a very serious work, a very long and difficult labour.

TACITUS's account of the first eight years of that war is unhappily lost. During those eight years that part of our island which lies nearest the continent, the whole tract from the shores of the *British* channel to the banks of the *Severn*, *Avon*,
and

* *Edidit & in campo Martio expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, & deditionem Britanniae regum, praeseditque paludatus.* Suetonius.

and *Nen*, seems to have been slowly and gradually subdued by the *Roman* armies; not without much resistance of our brave islanders; not without their often (according to *Shakespear's* words) *grinning, like lions, on the pikes of their hunters*. Often then in our hills and woods was heard the conflict of war: often did our silver streams run purple with blood; *British* blood, shed from *those naked breasts*, which in the glorious cause of their country's liberty, *stept before targes of proof*.

SUETONIUS says of *Vespasian*, in *Britannia* *tricies cum hoste confligit*. It should seem very improbable, that *Vespasian* could be present at *all* the engagements in these *British* wars: it is most likely, that besides those *thirty* battles, there were many other bloody fields, which he never saw.

IN thinking on this subject, my dear friends, what ought to be the emotion, the ardour of an *English* heart? — Never did I hear the last act of *Shakespear's Cymbeline* performed at *Drury-Lane*, without feeling myself much and strongly agitated. — If a fable could so transport me, what ought to be the effect of real history?

Mr. *Pitt*, in the heat of one of his most noble orations, dared to compare the magnanimity of
British

British liberty to the description of the horse in *Job* *.

O FOR a stile so animated ! O for equal thunder of eloquence !

PARDON me, my dear friends, for this rapture. But how can I avoid wishing for the abilities of such an orator, while I am on such a topic ? And why should we not think the courage of our islanders to have exerted itself as nobly in this war of self-preservation against the *Romans*, as ever since on any other call.

FOR let us consider not only the many engagements, or, in other words, the *activity* of this war, but its *duration* also.

FROM

* See chapter xxxix. ver. 19.

Nunquid præbebis equo fortitudinem, aut circumdabis collo ejus binnitum ?

Nunquid suscitabis eum sicut locustas ? gloria narium ejus terror.

Terram ungulâ fodit, exultat audacter, in occursum pergit armatis.

Contemnit pavorem, nec cedit gladio.

Super ipsum sonabit pharetra, vibrabit hasta & clypeus.

Fervens & fremens sorbet terram, nec reputat tubæ sonare clangorem.

Ubi audierit buccinam dicit : Vah, procul odoratur prælium, exhortationem ducum & ululatum exercitus.

FROM the time of the *Roman* invasion in *Claudius's* reign, to the entire reduction of our island under *Domitian*, was a space of *above forty* years. I have been with pleasure calculating that it was *so long* before the *Roman* power (though then at its height) could conquer *Britain*. The *Britons* probably would never have been subdued by all the force of this mighty empire, if they had been as much accustomed to the *Roman* art military, as the contemporary *Germans* were: or if they had been then happily connected and united under the standard of one prince. *Sed, dum singuli pugnant, omnes vincuntur* *. Unsuccessful were their struggles, yet were their heroisms highly glorious: *Nulla tum in detestandis periculis formido*. Of that weakness the *Britons* were accused, after they were conquered and corrupted, *Amissa virtute pariter & libertate*: but in those early days, while they were yet free, they were eminently valiant.

O quàm multorum opera egregia in obscuro jacent.

WHO would not wish for a more particular detail of their achievements? But how brief, how defective is this part of our national history? We receive more information in relation to the affairs of antient *Britain* from *Tacitus* than from any other

* *Vita Agricolaë, c. 12.*

other writer : yet surely that information, though most sensible and authentic, is far from being sufficiently ample, or particular.

OFTEN have I wished ; not only that the works of *Tacitus* had come down to us complete ; but also that *Tacitus* had composed another history, and that not a concise one, but of a just size, expressly on the subject of the *forty years war in Britain*.

IN such a work the patriotic fortitude of *Caractacus*, of *Galgacus*, and of many other *British* heroes, whose atchievements are now lost in oblivion, would have appeared in due splendor and dignity : not contracted in their proportions (merely to give space in the picture for the horrid forms of the contemporary wickednesses of *Rome*) but represented in full magnitude. Many successive generations of *British* youths would have gazed with ardour on the glorious portraits : *interea animos ad virtutem vehementissime accendi ; flammam in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam majorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverint* *.

INDEED, dear sir, replied *Crito's* pupil, I have sometimes framed the same kind of wish. For such a work would have been highly valuable, not only

* See vol. i. p. 427.

only on that important account which you mention, but for several other less weighty reasons.

THE *student of English history*, whatever were his time of life, or temper of mind, would probably consider such a book as one of the most favourite volumes in his library.

THE *antiquarian* would certainly find in it materials for a much more accurate description of the rivers and hills in antient *Britain*, and of the boundaries of her several nations, than what he can now collect from all the authors who have written on the subject. With great satisfaction he would learn from thence the true course of many of her public ways, and the true situation and origin of many of her cities. But his greatest feast would be in those digressions, which we may suppose to have treated of religious doctrines, sciences, and perhaps feats of learning belonging to the *Druids*.

VESPASIAN, if I am not mistaken, conquered the isle of *Wight*, and several other *British* principalities, which probably lay between that island and the territory of the *Dobuni*; which territory, if I mistake not, contained the counties of *Oxford* and *Glocester*. I have been told, that there is a place in *Wiltshire*, not far from *Stonehenge*, still called by

by the name of *Vespasian's* camp. The disciples of Dr. *Stukely* would consequently, in a clear and ample history of *Vespasian's* campaigns, reasonably expect to find some description of the *Druidical* temples at *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, as they appeared in those times, when their barbarous grandeur was probably still entire.

I REMEMBER going last *April* was twelvemonth to the vast amphitheatrical temple of *Abury* * with my tutor, and there listening to some of his opinions on the doctrine of the *Druids*. Several of their tenets he admired and revered; particularly the capital articles of their belief, the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of that future state, in which charity, as well as patriotic fortitude, are to be rewarded †: articles of belief, which very much to the honour of our parts of *Europe* were retained firmly and ardently by our *British* ancestors; at the same time, that the corrupted inhabitants of *Greece* and *Rome* seem to have been endeavouring by luxury and sophistry to extinguish in their breasts every spark of that noble and blessed hope, which is kindled by the breath of

VOL. II.

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nature.

* The circumference of the mound of that amphitheatre is not less than eighteen hundred yards.

† Compare *Seneca* with *Lucan*, lib. i. v. 442.

nature in the hearts of all mankind, even in the most rude and wild.

ON the other hand, it was *with much aversion* that my tutor mentioned some of the bad rites and (as it were *North American*) doctrines of the *Druids*. He pitied their superstitions ; he abominated the cruel sacrifices of their captives : and on this last account, expressed strongly his joy, that the *Romans* by the abolition of Druidism had cleared the way for the future progress of the Christian Religion.

BEFORE my tutor had turned my attention to so serious a train of thought, I was employed in another manner. I was hammering out a copy of verses. Cold indeed, or rather totally dead must have been my imagination, if it had not been *then* susceptible of some poetic ideas ; while I was treading the soft turf of *Abury* amidst the circles of those moss-grown stones ; or musing in the long meadow, which leads from that temple to the silver springs of the *Kennet*, and to the verdant pyramid of *Silbury*.

IN the center of that pyramid, in all likelihood, rests the dust of a *British* king, a brave protector of his people in war, and a munificent founder of religious edifices. The temple of *Abury* was probably

bably his work. Often has his name been repeated in the songs of *British* poets; though it is now totally unknown, or but uncertainly guessed at. Often around that hill, in the solemn ceremony of annual assemblies,

*Vos quoque (qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates demittitis ævum)
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi:
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis.*

BUT let me not wander too much from the subject, on which you, dear sir, were just now speaking.

I CANNOT but be of opinion, that the *history* of Britain, during those forty years, would have furnished very rich and abundant matter for poetic imagery: the mixture of barbarism in it would not have been of any disservice.

IF such an history had been extant, the adventures of its heroes and heroines would have been celebrated by the harps of *Shakespear*, *Spenser*, and *Milton*, with peculiar sweetness. All the *epic*, *lyric*, and *tragic* muses of modern *Britain* would probably have selected from thence their favourite themes; they would have considered that epocha

with as much love and respect, as the muses of Greece and Rome paid to the inexhaustible story of the wars and fall of Troy.

EVEN the politician would not disdain to give deep attention to the contents of such a work of Tacitus. For, however barbarous Britain might then be in her national manners, in her few laws and rough form of government, yet surely many important propositions and useful maxims might be deduced from a judicious and faithful description of them.

THE history of our ancestors, even of those who are most remote from our times and customs, will always be found to contain something instructive to their posterity. Such I remember was your reflection, when you was reading to me at Hanover Tacitus's essay *de moribus Germanorum*; and tracing out from thence the origin of the manners, and government of our Anglo-Saxon fathers: a reflection, certainly not unapplicable to our British ancestors also, and to the history of our island in their times.

LET us judge of the utility of their history in general from one article, of which we have some knowledge. I mean the all-supporting article of population. Britain, though destitute of manufactures

fañures and *commerce*, and probably but little instructed in the *art* of agriculture, yet seems in the times of *Claudius*, and of his successor, to have been at least as full of people as at present. According to the short account of *British* affairs which we *now* find in *Tacitus*, the number of slain in the defeat of one *British* army, and in the destruction of two *British* cities, amounted to not less than one hundred and fifty thousand *. If I am not mistaken, *Cæsar* also says in his commentaries, that *Britain* was in his time inhabited *vi infinitâ hominum*. I should be glad to see these facts (if true) rationally accounted for. Such a discussion would certainly lead you to some very important reflections.

BUT I forgot that I am all this while interrupting you. You were speaking of the progress of the *Roman* arms in the conquest of our island.

INDEED, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, I had much rather follow your train of ideas, than return to my former unpleasing topic.

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* *Annal. lib. xiv. c. 33. 37.* *Boadicea's* army (according to *Dio Cassius*) consisted of 120,000 in the beginning of her insurrection: it afterwards encreased to 230,000: but in this almost incredible multitude, it is probable that even the women and children, who flocked in great throngs to the camp, are to be reckoned. Even so, the number is astonishing.

It is true, that the progress of the *Roman* arms in the western or eastern frontiers of the empire, is a much more manly object of thought, than the degenerate manners of the contemporary *senate* and *people of Rome*, (if they deserve to be called by *that* name) or the vile arcana of the court of the *Cæsars*. It is true, that the labours of *Corbulo*, and other *Roman* generals, who commanded with honour in the reign of *Claudius*, are noble enough to be able to recall to our memory the history of some of the most celebrated heroes in the *Roman* republic *. It is observed, if I am not mistaken, by the author of the *Spirit of Laws*, that the military virtues of this city survived all the rest. But what was the object of these virtues? (as they are *most improperly* called) The invasion, the slaughter, the plunder, the enslaving of innocent nations. At least such was the case in *Britain*.

THE

* The character of *Corbulo* seems in several particulars to bear a resemblance to that of *Scipio Africanus*.

Ομοια γὰρ τοῖς πρῶτοις Ρωμαίων, ἔχ' ὅτι τῷ γενεῖ λαμπρῶς, ἢ τῷ σώματι ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτιφρῶν ἦν· καὶ πολλοὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρείου, πολλοὺ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δίκαιον, τότε πείσθον εἰς πάντας, καὶ τὰς οἰκείας, καὶ τὰς πόλεμιας εἰχεν.

Dio. lib. lxii. c. 19.

Mixed with these great qualities, there were unhappily some ingredients of vanity and ostentation, and (what is much more to be lamented) a considerable degree of that *Roman* ambition, which was not sufficiently sparing of human blood.

THE first commander in chief of that *British* invasion was *Plautius*.

IN our late journey to *Tivoli*, I stood for some minutes on the *Ponte Lucano*, viewing that adjoining massy tower, which is the mausolæum of the *Plautian family* *. My thoughts at that time were engaged on the history of this *Plautius*, of whom we are now speaking. My sentiments in regard to him were very fluctuating: I was not without some respect to the memory of his military merit; but I felt much more horror in recollecting that he was the destroyer of my country. Perhaps around that tower, at the time of his funeral rites, much *British* blood was shed in sport, in the same manner, as here in the *Circus* or *Forum*, at the time of his oration †. Such were the horrid cruelties

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of

* See vol. i. pag. 168.

† Πλαυτίου ἀπο τῆς Βρεταννικῆς πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῦ χειριστὰς καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Κλαυδίου, καὶ ἐδριαμβεύσας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπέλευθερων, καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλῶται οἱ Βρεταννοὶ ἐμαχέσσαντο καὶ πολλὰς ὄσας καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶδει τῆς θείας ἀνῆλκε, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐσεμνυνέτο.

Dio Cassius, lib. lx.

If *Plautius's* wife, *Pomponia Græcina*, was really (as some writers think) a Christian, with what horror must she have looked on this scene of pride and wanton cruelty; and with what heart-felt grief, that her husband was concerned in it?

It seems very observable, that in the reign of *Claudius*, eloquence and other polite literature flourished much in *Rome*:

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of *Rome* even in those ages which are thought the most civilized and polite. For, though the *Romans* did not then, so frequently as formerly, murder their captive kings in cold blood after the triumph, yet they seem to have continued as inhuman as ever to the common race of mankind.

THE next *Roman* general who ravaged *Britain*, was *Ostorius*. He laid our country waste almost to the shore of the *Irish* sea. From the concise account of his campaigns in *Tacitus*, we are led to estimate highly his activity and other military virtues; but at the same time to form a very exalted idea of *British* valour.

I HAVE often regretted, that, when we were at *Ludlow*, we did not know how near we were to *Brampton Brian*, and *Caer Caradock*; the places where *Caractacus* struggled for *British* liberty against the legions of *Ostorius*.

WITH

five centuries afterwards all the arts and sciences of the *Roman* empire were perishing under the cold influence of northern ignorance, yet even under those great disadvantages, Christianity was able to render the hearts of the *Roman* people much more humane than formerly. Many instances might be produced of this fact. It may be sufficient in this note just to hint the contrast between the cruelty of *Plautius* to his *British* prisoners, and the charitable sentiments of *Gregory* the Great when seeing in the *Roman Forum* some poor captives of the same country.

WITH what poetic pleasure would you have walked amid those venerable oaks, which *Camden* (I think) describes as in his time shading *Brampton Brian*; and which, perhaps, may have vegetated there, in a constant succession of plants, ever since the *Druidical* ages?

WITH what patriotic raptures should we all have viewed the river near *Caer Caradock*; and those rocks, on which *Caractacus* stood encouraging his fellow-countrymen to the combat *?

IN that battle much valour was exerted on both sides. The *Britons* were in a very strong situation, but the *Romans* had the much greater advantage of numbers, and of proper arms, and, above all, the irresistible weight of excellent discipline.

YET, though defeated in that bloody field, the brave *Silures* still continued the war; they continued their opposition with such spirit, and by degrees with such success, that *Ostorius* at length sunk under it. Vexation and disappointment, added to the other cares and fatigues of his unsuccessful expedition,

* *Enimvero Caractacus, huc illuc volitans, illum diem, illam aciem testabatur, aut recuperandæ libertatis aut servitutis æternæ initium fore. Vocabatque nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Cæsarem pepulissent; quorum virtute vacui a securibus & tributis, intemerata conjugum & liberorum corpora retinerent.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 34.

pedition, broke his heart. He died in *Britain*. Perhaps his bones still lie there interred under some lofty barrow, or pile of stones on our coasts, in the same manner as the corpse of *Ajax* was buried on the shore of *Troy*. May they remain undisturbed !

BUT what must have been the sentiments of *Caractacus*, when, during his captivity, he heard that his *Silures* (though threatened with extirpation) were still in arms ? With what ardour must he have wished to be then among them on the banks of the *Severn* or *Wye*, hazarding his life again for the deliverance of his country ?

IF you, my dear friend, (in saying this, he turned to *Crito's* pupil) was to employ your mind in some poetic meditations on the noble indignation, which *Caractacus* probably felt at his being obliged to lie idle at *such* a time ; would not the fire of his patriotic heroism appear to you equal at least to that of any of the more antient warriors described by the epic or dramatic poets of *Rome* and *Greece* ?

I OUGHT to be duly sensible, replied *Crito's* pupil, that my mind is not strong enough to form a proper idea of *Caractacus* on such an occasion. But if I was endeavouring to represent his captive daughter,

daughter, or any of her virgin train, weeping on the shore of *Dover*, while the *Roman* fleet was bending their sails for the voyage, I certainly should take your hint of consulting some of the *Greek* tragedians. I probably should have recourse to the beautiful chorus in the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*.

Αυρα ποντίας αυρα,
Ατε ποντοπορος κομιζεις
Θοας ακοτης επ'οιδμα λιμνας,
Ποι με ταν μελεαν πορευσεις;
Πε δαλοσυνω πρω οικον
Κτηθεισ' αφιζομαι.

BUT why should I pretend to talk on this subject? The story of *Caraëacus* has already been treated *incomparably* better by Mr. *Mason*.

IN one particular, Mr. *Mason* has, in my opinion, very much *improved* the subject: I mean, by having painted the *Druid* character with many graces, borrowed from a better religion. Such in particular is the meek doctrine of resignation, which, if I remember right, *his Druid* inculcates to *Caraëacus*, both on his defeat, and his captivity.

I HEARTI-

I HEARTILY wish, that the poet could have thought proper to add another act to his drama, descriptive of *Caractacus*, when arrived at *Rome*. With what pleasure should we be *now* perusing the scenes and chorusses of *that* act?

MANY have been the princes of various nations, said the young nobleman, whose captivity here at *Rome* we have been led to pity during the course of your humane tutor's lectures: but surely there is none that affects us so nearly, as this of our own noble king, *Caractacus*.

LET us visit the place (though it will be but a melancholy object) where our king appeared in fetters. I mean the *Castro Prætorio*. If we turn up the first road on our right, we shall be there in less than half an hour.

* * *

Ad portam Viminalem sunt mœnia ultrà reliquos muros quadrata, quam formam vallo fossâque munitam Romani usurpabant in castris — injuria temporum, & hominum incuria multa mutavit. Et verò ibi fuisse castra militum. Prætorianorum cum Onupbrius de iis agens & Lipsius tradunt: & communiter Antiquarii.

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THE above lines are taken from *Donati*. *Eschionardi* confirms the same: *Un avanzo di sontuoso edificio scorgesi presso la porta chiusa: non è difficile dalla figura accennar che fosse, e ravvisarvi li lineamenti del Castro Prætorio. Certi tubi quivi trovati dell' aquedotto dell' aqua Martia, nella di cui iscrizione è nominato il Castro Prætorio, sono testimoni di tal fabrica.* Abate *Venuti* adds: *Il Signor Piranesi ne dà l'intera pianta * avvanzi il suo disfacimento, laquale egli dice averla rilevata da' suoi avvanzi, & dal prospetto, che si vede nel basso rilievo dell' Arco di Constantino, dalle medaglie, & dagli antichi Scrittori.*

IN this place, which is now a vineyard belonging to the Novitiate of the Jesuits, the young *Englishmen* sat down on the grass. The eldest took out a pocket edition of *Tacitus*, and read to his friends the description of *Caractacus's* approach to the tribunal of the *Roman* empire.

I CANNOT help imagining, said the young nobleman, that I now see really all the splendor of that *grand* ceremony; for *grand* it must be called, though every *British* heart then in *Rome* sighed ready to break on the occasion. Cannot you fancy, that you see the *Roman* court there seated in the utmost magnificence, the *Roman* people in an innumerable

* Tav. xxxix.

numerable multitude *there* spreading a wide surface of faces ; the prætorian regiments on both sides drawn out in square batallions, doubtless with the found of military instruments, and all possible *pride and pomp of war* ? The procession begins. — Be so kind as to read those lines of *Tacitus* again.

Cæsar dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam vieto. Vocatus quippe ut ad insigne spectaculum populus. Stetere in armis prætorie cohortes, campo qui castra præjacet. Tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis, phaleræ, torquesque, quæque externis bellis quæsierat, traducta ; mox fratres & conjux & filia : postremò ipse Caracæstacus ostentatus.

IT was probably (continued the eldest of the young gentlemen) not without some flattery to the court and ministry, that the *Roman* senate compared the captivity of *Caracæstacus* to that of the successor of *Alexander* the Great. Indeed the form of this part of the procession seems copied from the triumph of *Paulus Æmilius* : but how different was the spirit of our *British* prince from the timidity of that degenerate king of *Macedonia* ? *At non Caracæstacus aut vultu demisso, aut verbis misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali astitit, in hunc modum locutus est.* I think I never read in any of the antient historians any speech which seemed more genuine,

genuine, and less the invention of the writer than this.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied *Crito's* pupil. It is very concise and sensible; open, and generous; full of that true courage, which, tho' not despising self-preservation, will not say or do any thing mean for its sake.

YET I own myself much more pleased at the surprize which *Caractacus* expressed in viewing the greatness and splendor of the capital of the *Roman* empire, and his astonishment at the insatiable and mean voraciousness of its inhabitants, who, tho' possessed of the richest empire in the world, and gorged up to the throat with its luxuries, yet could stoop so miserably low, as to think it an addition to their happiness, that their troops were ravaging the poor provinces of *Wales*, and plundering its humble cottages*.

AFFECTION for our country (for all *England*, was then *Welch*) will lead us to concur with *Caractacus* in his astonishment at this avarice and ambition of *Rome*. But ought not philanthropy to carry

* *Caractacus, barbarorum princeps, captus & Romam ductus, cum veniam a Claudio impetrasset, & dimissus perlustrasset urbis magnitudinem & splendorem, Itane, inquit, vos quum hæc tanta ac talia possideatis, nostra concupiscitis tuguriola?*

carry us at least one step further? Is not *Britain* at present possessed of an empire more extensive, and perhaps almost as opulent as the *Roman*? And is it not highly probable, that in viewing the streets and squares of *London*, several *American* chiefs (whose countries border on our back settlements) may have vented their complaints in expressions somewhat similar to those of *Caractacus*; or to those, which *Galgacus* uttered some years afterwards, at the feet of the *Grampian* mountains? *Si locuples hostis est, avari: si pauper, ambitiosus. Quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

FROM national affairs let us look down to the private scenes of rural life. What must we imagine to be the sentiments of the *English* labourer, or poor farmer, in viewing from the door or little window of his hovel, the pompous seat and gardens of his avaricious and oppressive landlord? But this certainly is very seldom the case. For one instance of a cruel landlord, there are, I believe, both in *England* and *Italy*, hundreds who are kind and beneficent.

CRITO's

CRITO's pupil, having now turned the conversation to his favourite topics, proceeded to pour forth the sentiments of his heart in the sweet eloquence of artless good nature.

FROM these humble topics, he rose again gradually, like the sky-lark, from his beloved nest on the ground : he rose to themes of an heavenly kind ; themes far more sublime than those on which his young friends had been meditating, whether military heroisms, or patriotic fortitude.

A RELIGIOUS soul indeed, notwithstanding its lowliness, soars infinitely higher than the mind of the patriot or hero. We may be convinced of this by one reflection only. Let us consider the character of that man, who either in the senate or in the field, nobly fights the battles of his country, without having another object in view, than the mere *glory* of such a conduct : how sublime is his object *generally* esteemed, but how really despicable is it in comparison of the objects of a religious life ? Yet let not this observation be understood as depreciating too much the merit of these *English* youths : they were both honest and worthy men ; though by no means on a level with their admired friend, *Crito's* pupil.

IF the state of his mind, at the close of this *Saturday* evening's conversation, could have been

represented by any corporeal similitude, it would have much resembled a figure with which *Raphael's* pencil has adorned one of the altars in *Bologna*; the figure of *St. Cecilia*, treading on the trumpet, and other instruments both of military and common music, but lifting her hand to her organ, and her eyes to heaven.



ABOUT eleven o'clock on *Sunday* morning the young gentlemen called at *Crito's* apartment: they had not however the pleasure of finding him there. His servant informed them, that his master had risen by day-break, had continued for several hours in his closet, and afterwards walked out towards *St. Peter's*; but that he expected him home in about half an hour.

THE young gentlemen went into *Crito's* apartment, and sat down at his table, where they saw some books, which he had been studying the preceding evening, *viz.* two or three volumes on religious subjects; *Seneca's* Consolation to *Helvia* open at the beginning of the ninth chapter; and a short treatise relative to that science, which most strongly disposes the mind to devotion, *Astronomy*.

AMONG

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 259

AMONG these books lay a small roll of paper, which as *Crito's* pupil informed them, was intended for their perusal. They opened it, and cast their eyes over its first leaf, which was a kind of introduction to the whole. The contents of that leaf were as follows.

MY dear friends, when we began our present course of studies, we were greatly encouraged in it by the consideration, that perhaps there never existed, on the face of the whole earth, any heathen nation more celebrated from the practice of several moral virtues, than the *Roman*. But we are now advanced to those sad times, the reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, when we find the *Roman* people totally changed, when their annals are become remarkable for scarce any thing but the blackness and atrocious enormity of their crimes. How can I desire you to continue your attention to their history?

WHILE we were compiling the catalogue of those worthies who crowded this city, during her early republican government, we frequently, at short intervals, turned our thoughts to the contemporary illustrious characters of *Greece*: in the same manner as an astronomer, though studying nightly the number and magnitude of those stars, which fill the part of the heavens over his head, yet sometimes turns his globe to consider the con-

stellations in the other hemisphere. But what can we do at present? Thick and foul clouds now hang over each country; (pardon me for this allegorical stile) the bright constellations of *Greece* seem all extinguished; and *Italy* lies covered with the midnight gloom and deep darkness of vice.

BUT look towards the south-east, and you will see in the utmost edge of the horizon some streaks as of the twilight of a rising morning. Fix your eyes on this phænomenon. It becomes more and more distinguishable.

IF an angel was now to be looking down on the *Roman* empire, he would see its south-eastern provinces, *Palæstine* and *Syria*, bright with excessive splendor.

BUT the illumination is extending itself over *Cyprus*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*: some of its rays already reach *Rome*. Yet what is very peculiar, this steady and pure light seems to shine only on some low and humble roofs: not on the lofty pinnacles of any of the *Roman* palaces; over most of which the thick cloud is still hanging.

BUT in a little time every part of the city will be enlightened by this rising *sun of righteousness*, in a manner ten millions of times more glorious than

than by all the glittering of her old heathen virtues.

FROM *Rome* the light will proceed westward.— But let me not tire you, my dear fellow-students, with the continuation of this allegorical stile; (a stile, in which my thoughts at present flow, owing to my having been lately studying some books of this species of natural philosophy) let me rather in plain language beg you to turn your thoughts from the black crimes of *Caligula's* and *Claudius's* court, to the contemplation of the pure brightness of that Holy Church, which in *Palestine* and *Syria* was then beginning to be known by the name of Christian.

A GENERAL view of the history of the Apostolic Church, during the three last years of *Tiberius's* life, and during the whole reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, will by no means be an improper subject for your meditations tomorrow, that is, *Sunday morning*.

AFTER the introductory leaf, followed a treatise composed by *Crito* some months ago, being a kind of meditation on the history of Christianity during its first twenty years; which twenty years conclude about the end of *Claudius's* reign. In this treatise there was a considerable degree of learning, very much humility, and still more devotion;

otion: a devotion (as appeared by the references marked in the margin) greatly inflamed by the study of *St. Chrysostom*. The whole treatise however was so short, that the young gentlemen read it through in little more than a quarter of an hour. They had laid it down again, and were beginning to talk of its contents, when *Crito* entered the room. He saluted them with more than ordinary earnestness and affection.

CRITO's pupil, in the name of his two friends, returned him thanks for the manuscript on the table. I believe, replied he, I ought much rather to ask your pardons for troubling you with those papers.

It would perhaps have been much better, if I had desired you this morning to consult in your several apartments that book, from whence almost every thing on this subject is extracted.

THIS excellent part of ecclesiastical history is in great measure contained in the first seventeen chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*. You must however add to those chapters part of the 18th; for *Gallio*, the brother of *Seneca*, whom you will find mentioned in the middle of the 18th chapter, was governor of *Achaia*, if I mistake not, about the end of *Claudius's* reign.

IN the beginning of the same 18th chapter, the *Jews* are said to have been expelled from *Rome* by *Claudius*. Permit me to trouble you with some few words on that occasion.

SUETONIUS relates the same fact: adding a most improbable and most shocking reason for it. *Judeos impulsore CHRESTO assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit.* That the *Jews*, under the cruel and impious oppression of the *Roman* tyranny, were very inclinable to rise in tumults, seems credible indeed from their history in *Judea* during those times. But how could Christianity, Apostolical Christianity, be a teacher of sedition? Could her doctrines, which inculcate the utmost patience and charity in private life, and which expressly command obedience to all legal authority, as to the will of *God*, and inforce that obedience by the most awful and tremendous sanctions; could these doctrines breathe the rebellious spirit of mutiny and insurrection?

THE truth *probably* was this. The *Jews*, from a motive of zeal, raised some tumults against the Christians (who were at that time mostly of the same nation) in the same manner as they persecuted them in *Achaia* and in other countries: *Claudius*, without inquiring into the difference, or making any distinction, expelled them both. A conduct suitable to the pride of the *Roman* court

(which held the whole Jewish nation in the utmost contempt) as well as to the particular temper of *Claudius*, on which the rumour of a tumult had the greatest effect. *Nulla adeò suspicio*, (says the same *Suetonius*) *nullus auctor tam levis extitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo injecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur.*

BUT however this may be, you are surely too well acquainted with history to be surprized at seeing sometimes innocence attacked by the grossest calumnies. You have seen a *Rutilius* banished from this same city for crimes the most improbable, the most contrary to the whole tenor of his life. Similar was the injustice done to the Christians in this case; and particularly to *St. Peter*, if he (as some writers think) was one of those who were then expelled from *Rome*.

GIVE me leave to turn to his first epistle. This epistle is generally thought to have been written by *St. Peter* while at *Rome*; I know not in what time of his life.

BUT whensoever it was written, whether in the reign of *Claudius*, or in that of his successor, it contains doctrines far different from the spirit of sedition. Several passages in it, as well as in some epistles of *St. Paul*, strongly justify the apostolic Church from such calumnies. Permit me to read

to you only the fourteen last verses of the second chapter.

Do not these verses totally confute the absurd accusation of Christianity mentioned by *Suetonius*?

IN a word, this false accusation of Christianity, together with the sentence of banishment pronounced in consequence of it by *Claudius*, may be considered by us as the preface and introduction to the history or black deced of those persecutions, and of those scarce less cruel calumnies, which the Christian Church patiently suffered under the *Roman* government during the three following centuries.

BUT the morning (continued *Crito*, looking on the clock) wears away. Let us turn our thoughts to another employment; an employment however, which is very much connected with the topic on which we have been reading and conversing.

THE young gentlemen staid about half an hour longer in *Crito's* apartment, and then returned to their several lodgings.

*

*

*

THE

THE *Villa Medicis*, most fortunately for *English* travellers, is situate near that part of *Rome* in which they generally lodge.

THIS *Villa* has the particular honour of having once belonged to that great *Florentine* family, which revived the arts and sciences of antiquity. Its high walls on the garden-front are entirely covered with rich basso-relievos : its gardens are filled with many other valuable antiquities of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Egypt* : and are always free and open for the amusement of the publick.

THIS evening (Sunday, *June 21.*) *Crito* was sitting alone in the portico of the *Villa Medicis*, and viewing from thence the quiet and solemn aspect of the distant pine-groves, when he was joined by his pupil, and by his two other young friends.

AFTER some talk on the beauties of this *Villa*, *Crito's* pupil enquired what was to be the place and subject of to-morrow's lecture.

THE next character, replied *Crito*, which I intended to propose to your consideration, in following the order of history, was *Arria*, the wife of *Pætus*. The place, which on that occasion you would probably have thought most proper to have visited, would have been an apartment of the *Villa*
Ludovisi ;

Ludovisi; I mean that apartment, in which the statues of *Arria* and of her husband are preserved, a groupe estimated by the author of the *Mercurio Errante* at upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling. After having visited that apartment, you would perhaps have taken an airing in your coach to the church of *Sancta Maria in Schola Græca*: in the walls of which church, you know, several marble pillars are still to be seen, belonging to that temple of *Pudicitia Patritia*, which antiently stood on that spot.

EVEN this very portico, in which you are now sitting, would not be an improper scene for the conclusion of such a conversation. These six colossal statues of *Sabine* matrons would not fail of reviving in your minds some pleasing ideas relative to that female merit, with which the republic of *Rome* was adorned during its most incorrupt ages*.

THE view from this portico might also suggest to your imaginations a most shocking contrast.

IF

* See Abbé Richard's Description of the *Villa Medici*, vol. vi. p. 141.

— sous le portique six statues des Sabines. Les Dames Romaines les honoroient de quelque culte religieux à la fête appelé *Matronalia* le premier de Mars — parmi les différentes causes, qu'Ovide donne à cette fête, la première est de ce que les Sabines, enlevées par les Romains, qui les épousèrent, arrêterent par leurs larmes la guerre cruelle, qui étoit prête à s'élever entre leurs peres, leurs freres, & leurs époux.

IF I am not mistaken in the topography of ancient *Rome* (which indeed may easily be the case) part of the ground which lies between this portico, and that opposite pine-grove, was towards the end of the republic covered by the famous gardens of *Lucullus*. During the reign of *Claudius* those gardens were in the possession of *Valerius Asiaticus*. But it was a fatal possession. It was coveted by the avaricious and bloody *Messalina*. For the sake of those gardens, she plotted a false accusation against *Valerius*; had him tried; and condemned: in a word, she murdered him, and then entered on his estate.

BUT mark the awful workings of Providence. Scarce had some few months past, when she was called to suffer for all her crimes. Flying from the imperial palace, in that day of terror, she wandered about the streets and environs of this city; sometimes on foot, deserted by all her train, (*id repente solitudinis erat*) sometimes riding, not in any of her usual proud carriages, but in a common scavenger's cart. She wandered about, yet found no soul to pity her, as the deformity of her abominations had prevailed over all sentiments of compassion.

BUT whither at last did she bend her trembling steps? Or rather to what place were they directed by

by an influence far superior to the designs of her own mind? To *those very gardens of Asiaticus*.

THITHER was she pursued by the ministers of justice: there was she found by the executioner, lying on the cold earth, but herself far more chilled by dismay and horror*: there was her guilty blood actually poured forth.

IF *Asiaticus* had been a good man, would not this history of his gardens have appeared to you very similar to that of *Naboth's* vineyard in the fields of *Jesrael*?

BUT let us take a short walk to *that part* of these *Medici* gardens, which seems to have bordered upon, or perhaps to have comprehended part of the ground once belonging to the gardens of *Asiaticus*.

THE

* *Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces, nonnullâ spe, & aliquando irâ: tantâ inter extrema superbiâ agebat.—Prorupit Narcissus (e palatio) denuntiatque centurionibus & tribuno qui aderant exsequi cædem: ita imperatorem jubere. Custos & exactor e libertis Evodius datus. Isque raptim in hortos progressus, reperit fusam humi, assidente matre Lepidâ quæ florenti filiæ haud concors, supremis ejus necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat.—Animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat, lacrymæque & questus irriti ducebantur. Tunc impetu venientium pulsæ fores: adstitit tribunus per silentium, ac libertus increpans multis & servilibus probris. Tunc primum fortunam suam intropexit, ferrumque accepit, quod frustra jugulo ac pectori per trepidationem admovens, ictu tribuni transfigitur.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. in fine.

THE company readily followed *Crito* to the separate inclosure on the southern side of the *Villa Medici*. They passed some time there on the mount in very serious conversation on the dreadful catastrophe of that vile woman. They afterwards returned into the more frequented parts of the garden ; *Crito* in the mean time lamenting the extreme hardness with which vice frequently petrifies the human heart. Notwithstanding the shocking fate of *Messalina*, her crime was soon afterwards exactly copied by *Claudius's* second empress, *Agrippina* : I mean in relation to the gardens of *Statilius Taurus* : but *Agrippina's* crimes also will be followed by their punishment.

WHILE *Crito* was talking on this subject, the company were passing by the fine statue of the dying *Cleopatra*. How wretched, said *Crito* somewhat changing the discourse, must *Cleopatra*, (that Egyptian *Agrippina*) even in the midst of all her pride and luxury, have appeared even in her own eyes ; especially when she compared herself to some of the virtuous matrons of *Rome* ; two particularly, whose characters were well known in the court of *Alexandria*, *Cornelia*, the wife of *Pompey the Great*, and *Octavia* ?

THE company now crossed over into the middle shady walk : and there, after some wandering talk
on

on various other subjects, resumed their former topic in the following manner.

I MUST desire, said *Crito*, that you would excuse me for not having prepared, as was my intention, some essay on *Arria's* character for your perusal to-morrow morning.

GIVE me leave, my dear pupil, to beg the favour of you to relieve me in this particular: a copy of verses on that subject composed by your pen will give your two young friends here almost as much pleasure, as if you had been able to shew them the ode which your muse inscribed to the memory of *Octavia*.

I say *almost*, for though the temper of *Arria's* mind was in general very noble and exalted; though several of her actions were truly laudable, as *Rollin* observes *; yet I am sure you will not join in the common admiration of her suicide, nor approve of her avowed contempt of life, if forced to survive her husband: a doctrine, which she inculcated into her daughter's mind by precepts, as well as by example. In these respects *Arria* seems to have borne much more resemblance to an *Indian* princess while ascending her husband's funeral pile, than to the meek spirited *Octavia*. *Octavia's* long indulged grief for the death of her son *Marcellus*,

at

* See also *Pliny's* Epistles, book iii. ep. 16.

at length broke indeed her heart, but never did it lift up her hand to self-destruction.

MUCH less ought we to presume to compare *Arria* with any of those female worthies, who are *most justly* celebrated in the history of Christianity; who loved their husbands and children with at least as much fidelity, as ever was practised on the banks of the *Tiber* or the *Ganges*; and yet with due resignation submitted that love to the dictates of true reason, and true religion.

BUT making suitable allowances for *Arria's* being misguided in those particulars, the rest of her character will certainly be a very pleasing poetie subject. So eminent an example of conjugal virtue will be a very agreeable, and a *very proper topic* for all your thoughts.

I KNOW not how it may sound from my lips, yet *I think it my duty on this occasion to say*, and to repeat it, that the goodness of the remainder of each of your lives will in great measure depend on the union, in which you will each of you probably soon after your return home be made happy, your union with three virtuous ladies. *Juvenes citò prudentes, citò pii, citò mariti, citò patres, citò omnis officii curiosi**. I thought yesterday of you all, while we were talking on the happy and early marriage of
Germanicus.

* *Seneca ad Martiam.*

*Germanicus. Expeſtant vos etiam jampridem domi
Tibicines & Hymenæum qui cantent.*

*Felices ter & amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulfus querimoniis
Supremâ citius ſolvēt amor die.*

BUT let me repeat to you ſome other verſes
on this ſubject, (the compoſition of a modern
Italian poet *) which are more ſuitable to this
day.

*O te beatum, qui Deum caſtè colis
Ejuſque ſervas ſemitas !
Tuae labore quod manus paraverint
Te nutrit fruētū ubere ;
Tibi bene eſt, eritque : cunētis affluīs,
Et ſemper affluēs bonis.
Qualis tuis conjuncta vitis mœnibus
Uvis abundat dulcibus,
Sic prole multâ te beabit optima
Uxor, ferens natas pares.
Virentibuſque ſeu novella frondibus
Vigent olivæ germina,
Venuſta menſam ſic tuam circumdabit
Florens corona liberūm.*

VOL. II.

T

En!

* Signior Roſſi of Arrezzo-Arretium in Tuscany.

En ! ut bonis ditabitur quamplurimis

Timere qui novit Deum !

Hæc largiatur, pluraque Ille munera

Tibi arce ex Sioniâ :

Patriæque perfruare felicitis bonis

Per cuncta vitæ tempora :

Cernas tuorum liberorum filios,

Letamque pace patriam.

THE company were now arrived at the further end of the middle walk of the garden ; when *Crito*, leaning on the iron rails, paused a while ; and then again addressed himself to his pupil, and his other young companions. May you all *in some few years* be surrounded with as numerous and beautiful a young family, (but much more long lived, and much more the favourites of heaven !) as this which here surrounds *Niobe* in this most noble of all statuary groups, probably the master-piece of the great *Scopas* !

BUT let us take another turn in this walk ; and give me leave again to express my hopes, that you, my dear pupil, will favour me with a short composition on this subject. A copy of such a composition by you will give much more pleasure to your parents in *England*, even than that * which went from hence last week.

THE

* Vid. seventh chapter of the third book, pag. 639.

THE character of *Arria*, notwithstanding its defects, is capable of being so represented as to make a very agreeable figure. Some of its features much resemble those of *Panthea*, as painted by *Xenophon*.

WHILE you are indulging your poetic ideas in this ode ; I shall be employing my thoughts on a subject more suitable to my years : a subject, which has filled my mind ever since sun-rise this morning, and on which I shall be very happy to converse with you all, my dear friends, to-morrow in that solemn pine-grove of the *Villa Burgheze*, and on Tuesday in the spacious and august *Piazza* of *that* most splendid church.

WHILE *Crito* was pronouncing these words, he stretched forth his right hand, pointing to *St. Peter's* ; the dome and front of which church appears very distinctly from the *Medici* gardens.

CRITO remained for some instants motionless in that attitude. His mind seem to be labouring under some great thought. He was ready to give it utterance, when two or three *French* gentlemen, who had been reading the inscription over the chapel in the northern corner of the garden,

den *, came up to this *English* company, and consequently broke off all further private conversation between them.

* If I remember right, this inscription is in honour of a person of fortune, who lived in this part of *Rome*, at the time it was sacked by the Duke of *Bourbon's* army. This person was supposed from his former very frugal manner of life to have amassed great wealth, was then put to the torture by the soldiers to force him to discover that wealth. It was discovered that he had indeed a great treasure, but that treasure was laid up by him not on earth, but in heaven, far out of the reach of spoilers, &c.

CHAP. VI.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SCENE. *The apartment of the eldest of the young gentlemen ; himself reading a volume of Tacitus ; a map of England lying before him on the table.*

[*Enter his two young friends.*]

ELDEST.

HOW pleasant is it for travellers, who have been as long abroad as ourselves, to take up now and then such a map, and to feast their eyes with the sight of *their own country* ?

I HAVE been looking over some parts of *North-Wales* ; and recollecting many agreeable circumstances which occurred to us in our tour through that romantic region the summer before last.

SUCH has been my amusement since breakfast ; though, when I rose this morning, I had another motive for taking this map out of my travelling

chest. My reason for it was, that I might by this help be better enabled to understand *Tacitus's* account of *Suetonius Paulinus's* campaigns. If I am not mistaken, it was not till the *eighteenth* year of the *British* war, that the *Roman* legions penetrated into *Caernarvonshire*. *Paulinus* ardently desirous to complete his conquest of this part of *Britain*, invaded *Anglesea* also ; and in that action swam his cavalry across this arm of the sea. He seems from this circumstance to have been a very bold commander : on the other hand, his conduct and perseverance are highly celebrated by *Tacitus*.

TACITUS hints at a comparison between *Paulinus's* campaigns in *Britain* and those of *Corbulo* in *Armenia*. Indeed though the hills of *North-Wales*, and even *Snowdon* itself, are not to be compared to the mountains of *Ararat* ; and though in this part of the world, in the contest between the *Romans* and the *Britons*, there was no third nation of such power and dignity as *Parthia* to interfere, and to ennoble the scene of their campaigns and negotiations, yet if we confine our thoughts merely to the native bravery of its inhabitants, surely *Britain* was as difficult a theatre of war, as *Armenia*, or perhaps any region of *Asia*. In saying this, I am far from thinking myself partial to my country.

BUT

BUT how dreadful is the idea which now rises to our minds, if from *Wales* we turn our eyes to the eastern side of *Britain*; and contemplate the vast effusion of human blood, which *then* suddenly burst forth almost in every field of *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, and discoloured all the beautiful verdure of the banks of the *Thames*?

CRITO'S PUPIL.

HORRID indeed, as you observe, very horrid were those massacres. They blot out the glory of our otherwise patriotic heroine, *Boadicea*: they cast a stain of dishonour on the history of our nation. It is true, that the *Roman* armies, which then oppressed *Britain*, were full of insolence, impiety, cruelty, and insatiable avarice; but the savage revenge of the *Britons* is not thereby justified.

SOME verses of *Glover's Boadicea* affected me greatly, when I first heard them: and I hope they will long remain fresh on my memory.

*Of all the paths, which lead to human bliss,
The most secure and grateful to our steps
With mercy and humanity is mark'd. —
And how much brighter is the wreath of glory,
When interwove with clemency and justice?*

YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

IT seems somewhat extraordinary, that the *Roman* historians, though they speak much of the destruction of *Camalodunum*, *Verulam*, and *London*, by the fury of *Boadicea*, yet they give us no description of the situation of that famous field of battle, where her prodigious army was soon afterwards totally defeated.

AN *English* writer, I know not of what repute among the antiquarians, thinks it probable, that this battle might be fought near *Keston* camp, on *Hayes* and *Bromley Common* *. Indeed it should seem not unlikely, that *Paulinus*, on being obliged to abandon *London*, should retire to the southward of the *Thames*, towards *Kent*, in order that he might there more readily receive reinforcements from the Continent.

CRITO'S

* It is not known, that any coins or marks of the *Romans* were ever found at *Keston* camp: but it is perhaps observable, that the brook, which rises close adjoining to it, is called *Raavernsburn*, which word seems a corruption of *Romans bourne*. In the same manner as the same writer observes, that the *Ra-venbank*, which crosses the low-lands of *Lincolnshire*, is in old writings, according to *Dr. Stukely*, termed the *Romans bank*. The *Roman* camp also in *Hertfordshire* goes by the name of *Ravensborough Castle*. Another fortification I have seen somewhere of that name.

See *Salmon's Survey of England*, vol. i. p. 92. and 355.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

I WISH *Salmon's* conjecture could be *fully* proved. I owe so much love and gratitude to the environs of *Bromley*, that I ought heartily to wish for the success of every hypothesis, that may contribute in any degree to their honour.

ELDEST.

I OWN I have more curiosity to know the place where (according to an extract from *Dio* subjoined in the notes to *this* edition of *Tacitus*) *Boadicea* was interred by her faithful, though ruined subjects. ΔΕΙΝΩΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΥΘΗΣΑΝ, καὶ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΩΣ ΣΤΑΨΑΝ. If we had any tollerably complete account of the *Britannia Romana*, we should probably find in it some description of the *place* and *form* of her *sepulchre*. Often perhaps have we seen the spot, often have our feet unknowingly trod on that turf, under which, in some future age, her bones will be discovered, intermingled with the brazen head of her spear, and some of the golden ornaments of her royalty.

BUT let us, however unwillingly, (continued the same young gentleman, rolling up the map) withdraw our thoughts totally from *England*. Let us think of *Rome*.

BREAK-

* * *

BREAKFAST was now brought in. The company sat down to it. The conversation afterwards turned on the subject of *Nero's* reign.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

(Taking up the Dio from the table)

IF I am not mistaken, the characteristics of this reign were, according to *Dio*, these three : *Ασελγεια, Ωμοτης, Αζημοσυνη*. Let us pass over the first black article as quickly and as silently as possible. In relation to the other two, I cannot help observing, that the pride of the *Roman* nation seems (if I judge properly from their writers) to have been at least as much hurt by the third article, as by the second : though certainly there is no comparison between them. The folly which *Nero* exhibited on the stage, might indeed justly render him very contemptible ; but in how different a manner ought we to think of the horrors of his murders ?

I wish I could properly repeat to you what my tutor said lately to me on that dreadful subject.

SOME

SOME few days past I attended my tutor to the *Lateran Cathedral*. His conversation there with me was at first on several ecclesiastical very weighty topics : towards the close of that conversation we relaxed our minds with some lighter, that is, some classic talk.

HE gave me a short history of the *fabrick* * from the time of *Lateranus*, who was slain by Nero, to the reign of *Constantine*, and from thence to the present age.

WE afterwards walked from the Church to the back door of the Baptistery, where *the remains of Lateranus's stately house* are more visible than in any other part.

I STOPPED to admire one of the great columns of porphyry †. My tutor took that opportunity
to

* The history of the *Lateran Cathedral* seems to be in general this. On the execution of *Lateranus*, his house and gardens were confiscated to the emperor ; and seem to have continued part of the imperial estate down to the times of *Constantine*.

Constantine seems to have granted authority to the Christians of *Rome* to make use of a part of his *Lateran* palace for a place of their religious assemblies. This was thus the first Christian church ever opened by the authority of the supreme magistrate : partly for which reason perhaps it is entitled, *omnium ecclesiarum in urbe & in orbe mater & caput*.

* Il Battisterio denominato di *Constantino* fabbrica de' tempi bassi, fatta con le spoglie della Casa dei *Laterani* — dietro al battisterio si vedono alcuni maggiori avanzi di questo Palazzo — Le Colonne

to give me some instructions relative to the excessive magnificence in which the antient *Roman* nobility passed their days ; as well as to the instability and vanity of such magnificence.

IN the times of their prosperity and wealth, what (said he) were the serious thoughts of the generality of the *Roman* noblemen ? The rebuilding, the enlarging of their villas and palaces ; those proud structures, which they had designed as the repositories of their enormous opulence in all its kinds, and as the scenes of their intended ease and luxury for many, many years to come. — Ἀφρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σε ἀπαιτήσουσι ἀπὸ σε. Ἀδὲ ἡτοιμάσας, τίτι ἐστὶ ; —

THE same folly infected strongly even the *reputed* wise men of that generation. They saw the *vanity* of such designs daily exemplified ; yet their proud hearts were not converted by the sight. *Tot divitum subita paupertas*, says a contemporary writer, *Seneca, in oculos incidit : & nobis nunquam in mentem venit, nostras quoque opes æquè in lubrico positas*. But the lot, which they had frequently seen falling on others, fell at length in reality on themselves.

Temporibus

Colonne di Porfido che sono al battisterio erano di questo Palazzo, come quelle che sono nel muro verso la Sagrestia, e che sostengono un pezzo di fregio, & di cornice antica.

See *Abate Venuti*, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

*Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis
Longinum, & magnos Senecæ prædixit hortos
Clausit, & egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.*

BUT let us sit down by the ruins of this pompous portico ; and meditate awhile on this subject.

IN relation to *Lateranus* himself, we will not at present enter into any discussion of the lawfulness of that intended insurrection, which was designed to deliver the world from the tyranny of *Nero* ; nor into any particular examination of this senator's character : though a very great idea of it is conveyed to us in some few concise expressions of *Tacitus*. *Lateranum consulem designatum nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit conjurationi.* How very similar was this motive to that which influenced *Marcus Brutus* ?

BUT let me rather again desire your attention, my dear pupil, to the *suddenness of that ruin* which fell on *Lateranus* and his opulent family. According to *Suetonius*, *Nero* generally gave *but one hour's respite* to the persons whom he ordered to die : immediately after that hour was elapsed, they were forced to put themselves to death. But with *Lateranus* the respite was not so long. Perhaps it might be in this stately portico that *Late-*
ranus

ranus was seized. Let me read to you here a line or two from my extracts from *Tacitus*.

Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati Nero adjungit, adedè properè ut non completi liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permetteret. Raptus in locum servilibus panis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur.

My tutor now paused for some moments. Recollecting his thoughts, he proceeded as follows.

RUIN equally unexpected, equally destructive, fell at various times on many other stately edifices inhabited by the *Roman* nobility.

THE history of the extirpation of most of the great senatorial families of *Rome* has often, my dear pupil, led me to a very serious train of thought. How many of the *Roman* nobles were slaughtered in the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Anthony* and *Octavius*? Even when the sword slept in *Augustus*'s reign, we see them continue to perish by other causes. Many were impoverished by luxury and vice. Many (a very remarkable number) dropt into their graves, without leaving children to inherit their titles and estates. Vengeance still pursued the remainder of them. In the following reigns; under *Tiberius*, the *Roman* house of lords was thinned by the ax
of

of mock-justice: (they destroyed themselves by their own votes and decrees) under *Caligula* they bled by the *sword of the soldiery*: under *Claudius* and *Nero* they perished by *both* those destructive instruments of tyranny united,

THE dispensations of Providence are certainly most just. For let us now recollect what our countryman Mr. *Hooke* says of the wickedness of the *Roman* senate in the corrupt and degenerate times of the republic: their avarice, cruelty, perfidy, pride. Their houses were filled with the spoils of innocent nations: but their crimes shall be punished even to the third and fourth generation of their children. Four tyrants (a series of monsters which the world never till that time, nor since, has seen seated on the throne of government) shall be appointed to rule over them, and to dash them to pieces with continued strokes of a rod of iron.

Nero was the principal instrument appointed for humbling and confounding the pride of the *Roman* nobility at *Rome* itself, in the sight of all the nations of the earth *, as well as for shedding

* Εκεινο δειξαι η αιχισον η δεινοτατον αμα εγενετο, οτι η ανδρες η γυναικες εχ οπως τε ιππικη αλλα η τε βουλευτικη αξιωματα ες την ορχηστραν, η ες του ιπποδρομου, τοτε θεατρον το κυνηγετικου εισηλθον, ωστερ οι ατιμοτατοι εισηλθον οι μεν εδελονται, οι δε πανυ ακοντες. —
Και

ding their blood in almost every province of the empire.

WHILE my tutor was thus talking to me, my heart joined in his sentiments.

WELL might *Tacitus* (thought I to myself) say on this occasion. *Ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit.* For certainly in the cruelties of a *Nero* and *Poppæa*,

*Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacœnæ,
Culpatufve Paris. Divûm inclementia Divûm
Has evertit opes, sternitque a culmine Trojam.*

But I was recalled from this train of my thought by my tutor, who observed, that, though *Nero* was

Και εἶδον οἱ τότε ἀνδρῶποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα, τῆς Φθίρις, τῆς Ορατίης, τῆς Φαβίης, τῆς Πορκίης, τῆς Ουαλερίης, τὰλλα πάντα, ὧν τὰ τροπαία, ὧν οἱ ναοὶ ἐκωρῶντο, κατὰ τε ἐσηκotas, καὶ τοιαῦτα δρωντας, ὡς ἐνία ἄλλων γινόμενα ἐθεωρῶν. Καὶ ἐδακτυλοδείκτεν γε αὐτὸς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπελεγῶν Μακεδόνες μὲν, οὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Παυλᾶς ἐκγονός, Ἕλληνες δὲς οὐτὸς τῆς Μομμίου. Σικελιωταί, ἰδετέ του Κλαυδίου· Ἡπειρωταί ἰδετέ του Ἀππίου· Ἀσιανοὶ του Ἀγκίου· Ἰβήρες του Πάπλιου· Καρχηδονιοὶ Ἀφρικάνου.

Dio Cassius, lib. lxi.

See *Montesquieu* *Grandeur & Decadence des Romains*, the 15th chapter, and that paragraph which begins with the words: *C'est ici qu'il faut se donner le spectacle des choses humaines, &c.*

was a proper instrument of vengeance, yet he himself deserved the greatest of punishments.

My tutor then proceeded to speak of some of Nero's crimes, particularly his murders, in such a stile as to fill me with terror and horror. He unfolded them in such a manner as would almost

— harrow up your souls, freeze your young blood,
Make your combined and knotted locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand an end
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.

SUCH were my tutor's reflections, when viewing the ruins of the palace of *Lateranus*. But let us at present quit the horrid topic. Or if the history of *Nero* is to be the principal subject of our thoughts this day, let us contrive to intermingle with it some other business or amusement, which may serve frequently to divert and ease our minds.

SUPPOSE we take a ride this morning. My tutor is walked out by way of the *Porta del Popolo* to the *Villa Borgheze*. If you please we may make a little excursion, a small circuit in the *campagna*, and in our return call on him there.

* * *

THIS proposal of *Crito's* pupil being readily assented to, the young gentlemen ordered their horses, and rode out from the *Porta Pia*.

THE eldest pointed to the *Castro Prætorio*, a little on the right hand of the high road. If I am not mistaken, said he, it was from thence that *Nero* had the bitter mortification, in the hour of his expulsion from his imperial palace, to hear *ex proximis castris clamorem militum & sibi adversa, & Galbæ prospera ominantium*. It was along this very road that the tyrant was then, in the last night of his life, flying full of fear and shame. But why do I mention these little circumstances? *Extreme* at that time surely must have been his confusion, and horror of conscience; while the heavens roared in thunder over his head, the lightnings flashed in his face, and the ground in an earthquake shook under his feet *.

BUT

* *Tremore terræ, & fulgure adverso pavescit.*

Suetonius.

See also what *Dio* says on the occasion.

— ΦΥΓΕΙΝ ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΝ. ΠΡΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΤΙ ΦΑΩΝΤΩ —
 ΒΥΚΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΘΗΣΗΣ ΗΛΑΣΕ· ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΩ, ΛΕΙΣΜΩ
 ΕΞΑΙΣΙΩ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ, ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΚΗΣΙΝ ΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΝ, ΟΤΙ ΗΤΕ ΓΗ
 ΠΑΣΑ ΔΙΑΡΡΗΓΝΥΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΦΟΝΕΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΨΥΧΑΙ ΠΑΤΕΙ
 ΑΜΑ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΘΟΡΝΥΣΙ.

ΘΑΝΕΙΝ Μ' ΑΥΩΓΕΙ ΣΥΓΓΑΜΩ, ΜΗΤΗΡ, ΠΑΤΗΡ.

Perfecto demum scelere magnitudo ejus intellecta est.

BUT I forget my dear friend : you proposed this ride chiefly as an amusement. Let us talk on some other topic.

* * *

IF you please, said *Crito's* pupil, we will follow the road which leads towards *Nomentum*.

THE company accordingly continued their ride for three or four miles : during which time the conversation varied to many different subjects.

THE pleasantness of the weather, and the beauty of the country (the vegetation of which was in this month at its height) revived at length some favourite ideas in the breast of *Crito's* pupil.

As he imagined himself to be now approaching the spot of *Seneca's* suburban villa *, he began to

U 2

speak.

* *Tacitus* says, that *Seneca* had a villa about four miles distant from *Rome*. See *Annal.* lib. xv. *In suburbano rure, quartum apud lapidem*. It is submitted to the reader's consideration, whether or no *that* might not be the villa, which belonged to *Seneca* in *Nomentanâ regione*; of which he speaks in his 104th and 110th epistles; and which is also mentioned with particular honour by his contemporary *Columella*. See *Columella's* treatise *de re rusticâ*, lib. iii. c. 3. *Sed Nomentana regio nunc celeberrimâ famâ est illustris, & præcipuè quam possidet Seneca vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinæ, cujus in prædiis vi-*
narum

speak of the virtues which that philosopher there *really* practised, not only in his last hour, but during many preceding years.

CRITO's pupil now indulged himself in one of his most beloved topics, the happy business of a country life; a life, which agriculture, and gardening, temperance, moderate labour, and moderate study, all contribute to render delightful. Blessed lot! but rendered far more blessed, when accompanied by constant daily exercises of piety and charity.

Of all the professions in humble life, I know not, said he, any that I should prefer to the employment of a gardener, or small farmer, when in tolerably easy circumstances. His mind is kept in vigour; his body in health; his field or garden is full of innocent charms to delight all his senses; and of objects proper frequently to suggest to his soul some moral or *pious* thought.

I REMEMBER my father's observing, that in *this last* respect the sentiments of some Christian writers, who have treated on the subjects of gardening and husbandry, are certainly far superior to those of the most eminent heathens. But as to myself, I know scarce any thing of either. Of the

nearum jugera singula culleos octonos reddidisse plerumque compertum est. But it is to be remembered, that *Seneca* had also a villa in *Albano*, and perhaps others.

the *Roman* writers *de re rusticâ*, *Columella* is, I think, reckoned the most elegant. I am as yet but very little acquainted with his works : but intend soon to peruse them. I have been reading this morning the introduction to his first book. The principal subject of that introduction is, you know, the contrast between the rural industry of the antient *Romans*, and the trifling manners of their posterity in *Columella's* time : that is, in *Nero's* reign. *Luxuriæ delitiisq; nostris virilis vita displicet.*

INDEED the life of men of fortune, said the young nobleman, is usually too full of trifling ; especially while they are resident in great cities. But it was probably much more so amidst the immense opulence and luxury of *Rome*, and the bad examples of *Nero's* court*.

THE whole life of *Nero* was trifling, when at *Rome*, when at *Naples*, and when in other places. But in a particular degree, what a tour of folly was his journey to *Greece* ? His amusements there were theatrical diversions, his serious occupation was fiddling. With great exactness and care he

U 3 laboured

* *Jam vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque studia. Quibus occupatus & obsessus animus quantum loci bonis artibus relinquit ?*

See the treatise on Oratory, usually published with *Tacitus's* works.

laboured for the prize of music, totally neglecting the proper employment of a sovereign *, the welfare of his people.

BUT let me recollect, am not I, though a private person, in some measure guilty of the same kind of fault? Am not I now, while on my travels, squandering away on music, vertu, and other *inerti negotio*, those days of which I must give a strict account? Ought not I rather to apply my attention with all diligence to the much more important business of doing, or preparing myself to do, as much good as is really in the power of one in my station; some public, some private, or at least some domestic beneficence? *Ad hæc querenda natus, æstimare debeo; quàm non multum acceperim temporis, etiam si illud totum his operibus vindicem. — Quod senectû vocatur, paucorum est circuitus annorum. — Sed nunc, dum calet sanguis, certè vigentiùs ad meliora eundum est. Ante senectutem curem, ut bene vivam: in senectute, ut bene moriar.* — These words of *Seneca* struck me strongly, while I was dipping in his works last night. — I hope however, that my turn to these amusements, of which I have been

* Παιτὰ ἐποιεῖ, ἵνα τοῦ τῶν κιθαρῶδων ἀγῶνα νικῆσας πττῆθῃ τοῦ τῶν Καίσαρων. — Τίς νίκη ἀτοπώτερα, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ κοτινοῦ, ἢ τὴν δαφνὴν, ἢ τὸ ζελίνου, ἢ τὴν τῶν λαβῶν, ἀπώλεσε τοῦ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ;

been speaking, has not been remarkably excessive; though I am every day more and more strongly convinced, that I ought to correct myself in them.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these good sentiments, his two friends looked on him with great regard. His present turn of thought seemed to favour the patriotic ardour of his eldest friend; but in reality it was much nearer allied to the piety, humility, and charity of *Crito's* pupil.

IF I am not mistaken, replied *Crito's* pupil, *Nero* made the tour of almost all the *Grecian* cities; except the two principal, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. He shunned the *Athenian* territory, his conscience not suffering him to approach the temple of *Eleusis*: he shunned *Sparta* for a similar reason, I remember *Dio's* words: ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΛΥΚΕΡΓΙΑΣ ΝΟΜΟΥ, ΩΣ ΕΥΑΝΤΙΩΣ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΧΙΡΕΤΕΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΥΤΑΣ.

IF *Nero* had persevered in his intended voyage to *Egypt*, he would probably in like manner have passed much time at *Alexandria*, *Canopus*, and other seats of idleness on the *Nile*: but never would he have visited the sacred habitations of those *therapeutic* philosophers, whom *Philo* describes as then spread over all *Egypt*; living re-

tired from the world, having disposed of their fortunes to their relations ; practising much austerity, and giving up their time to pious studies and meditations.

SUCH a depravity and weakness of mind in some degree appears by no means in you, my worthy friend ; but in several young travellers of various nations, who (as my tutor observed to me) wander through many parts of *Europe*, particularly *Italy*, thinking of scarce any thing except diversions, and the most trifling kinds of music and vertu : but shunning or slighting those places, which are remarkable either for devotion, or austerity of manners *. Their time is totally employed in the pursuit of pleasure, which flies them ; and consequently it becomes void in great measure of dignity, utility, and real happiness.

* * *

THE company now quitted the *Nomentan* road, and turned across the *campagna* to their left.

MUCH was it to be wished, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that *Nero* in his *Grecian* tour

* *Discurrunt, & locorum mutationibus inquietantur ; ægri animi jactatione.* Senec. Ep. 4.

tour had been guided by folly only. But there, as in *Italy*, he was stained with vices far exceeding the most enormous wickedness of modern ages. Rapine went on his left hand, and murder on his right*.

If our travels should really extend to *Greece*, we shall certainly make it our chief business in several parts of that country to recollect the heroisms of its antient natives: but I hope we shall not be so totally taken up with their panegyrics, as to forget, while at *Cenchreæ*, the name of *Corbulo*.

In that *Corinthian* port, by the command of *Nero*, *Corbulo* was murdered.

While we are treading on that coast, and viewing on one side of the bay the hills of *Attica*, on the other the mountains of the *Peloponessus*, shall we not think *Corbulo* happy at least in this circumstance, that he died and was buried in that land, which gave birth to and contained the ashes of so many heroes? Shall we not then endeavour, by recollecting the principal events in the *Grecian* history, to find some illustrious *Grecian* character similar to his? I wish I was able, even now when

in

* Πάσαν Ελλάδα λεηλατήσας. Dio Cassius.
Nunquam inter voluptates, à rapinâ & cæde cessabat.

in the suburbs of *Rome*, to expatiate, with proper dignity of sentiment and language, on the character of *Corbulo*.

AMONG many other particulars highly to his honour, ought we not to take notice, that it was to be attributed to *Corbulo* alone that the *Roman* army in *Syria* was so strengthened by newly-revived discipline as to strike terror over all the east?

IT was to *Corbulo* alone, that *Nero* owed the most splendid circumstance of his reign; I mean, the submission of the royal family of *Parthia*, strongly expressed by *Tiridates's* coming hither to receive the investiture of the kingdom of *Armenia*.

How great indeed did the majesty of this imperial city then appear? From the shores of the *Caspian* *Tiridates* came to pay his homage, and receive his crown. In that very year it is remarkable, that *Suetonius Paulinus*, the conqueror of the western shores of *Britain*, was invested with the consulship, and probably assisted at that pompous ceremony.

BUT what must have been the thoughts of *Paulinus*, while seeing the suppliant *Parthian* in the *Roman Forum*? Must he not have recollected the appearance

appearance of *Caractacus* in the *Castro Prætorio*? Must he not have compared their behaviour? How fervilely impious was the speech of the descendant of *Arsaces*? How noble that of the *British* king?

I HAVE been reading this morning, said the young nobleman, *Dio's* relation of the surprizing magnificence, and incredible profusion of *Nero's* court on account of *Tiridates's* journey and entrance into *Rome*.

I HAVE been considering what an idea of *Roman* splendor must have been impressed on the mind of the *Parthian* prince. I have been recollecting the sentiments uttered by *Hormisdas*, when he attended hither the son of *Constantine* the Great; and have been doubting at which those times this city appeared in the most noble outward grandeur.

BUT your much more manly reflections ought to draw my attention totally from such vain thoughts.

INDEED under all the glitter of *Nero's* court, how much vileness was there practised, how much horrid wickedness? The blood of *Barea Soranus*,
the

the imitator of *Scævola* and *Rutilius*, was then shedding *.

NOR was its pomp less *transitory*. For let us, after admiring the splendor of *Nero* in the *Forum*, *Theatre*, and *Circus*, recollect what happened to him *some few months ensuing, in the very place to which we are now drawing near.*

* * *

THE company were now arrived at *Serpentara*; where the house of *Pbaon*, *Nero's* freedman, stood; and where *Nero* himself in a most mean and miserable manner breathed his last.

THEY enquired for the reed-ground, in which that vile parricide trembling absconded; and for the filthy puddle (too pure however for his hands) of which he drank. They wished to see the

* Τῆς Συμπλοκῆς ἀπετῆς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνηκόντες, ἀπεδείχον ὡστε, ὅτι τοῖστοι ἦσαν.

Dio Cassius.

Baream Soranum — *eques Romanus poposceraat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae; in quâ offensiones principis auxit justitiâ atque industriâ. — Tempus damnatione delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendò Armeniæ regno adventabat.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xvi. c. 23.

the situation of that hovel, in which he expired *.

CRITO'S

* Offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam & Nomentanam viam circa quartum milliarium, — inter fruticetâ & vepres per arundineti semitam agre ad adversum villæ parietem evasit. — Aquam ex subjectâ lacunâ potaturus manu hausit. — Quâdrupes per angustias effossa cavernæ receptus in proximam cellam decubuit super lectum modicellâ culcitram vetere pallio stratu infusum, &c. Vid. Suetonium.

Ες καλαμωδιαν τινά τοπον κατεκρυφθη· καὶ ενταυθα μεχρι της ημερας υπεμεινεν ερριμμενος, οπως ως ηκιστα διορωτο· καὶ παντα μεν τον παροντα, ως καὶ εφ' εαυτον ηκοντα υποπλευων, πασαν δε φωνην ως καὶ αναζητησαν αυτον υποτρεμων· ειτε πα κυνιδιου υλαξεν, η καὶ ορνιδιου εφθελξατο, ρωπιον τε καὶ κλαδον υπ' αυρας εσειδη, δεινως εταραττετο· καὶ καθ' ησυχασειν υπ' αυτων ηδυνατο, κατ' αυλαλειν τινι των παροντων, μη καὶ ετερον τις ακηση, ετολμα· αλλ' αυτος καθ' εαυτον τη ψυχη καὶ εθρηνει καὶ ωλοφυρετο· ελογιζετο γαρ τα τε αλλα, καὶ προσετι οτι πολυανθρωποτατη ποτε θεραπεια γαυρωθεις, μετα τριων εξελευθερων εκυπλαζε. τοις του γαρ δραμα τοτε δαιμονιον αυτω παρεσκευασεν, ινα μηκει τις αλλης μητροφους καὶ αλητας, αλλ' ηδη καὶ εαυτον υποκρινηται. Και τοτε μετεγγινωσκειν εφ' οis ετετολμηκει· καὶ θαπερ απρακτον τι αυτων ποιησαι δυναμενος. Νερων μεθ' οis τοιαυτα ετραγωδει, καὶ το επ' οis εκεινο συνεχως ενενοει,

Οικτρως θανειν μ' ανωγε συλαμενος, πατηρ.

Οψε δ' εν ποτε, επειδη μηδεις αυτου αναζητων εωρατο, μετηλθεν εις το αντρον· κανταυθα καὶ εφαγε πεινησας αρτον οποιον εδε ποποτε εβεβρωκει, καὶ επιε διψησας υδωρ οποιον εδε ποποτε πεπωκεν. Εφ' ω δυσαναχρηστας ειπε, τυτο εστιν εκεινο το ποτον το εμον το απεφθον.

Και ομεν εν τατοις ην, &c.

Dio. lib. lxxiii.

CRITO's pupil repeated some *English* verses, in some degree applicable to the subject *. He then proceeded to much more important topics. He reflected properly on the folly which accompanied *Nero* even to his last hour : he considered also, in a very awful manner, the punishments in the other world ; those punishments, of which the pains and agonies of death are only the beginning. *Defecit Nero exstantibus rigentibusque oculis usque ad horrorem formidinemque visentium.*

DISCOURSING earnestly on this dreadful subject, (a subject, which so totally absorbed their attention, as to render them then not susceptible of any other ideas) the young gentlemen returned from *Serpentara* to *Rome*.

NEAR the *Porta Flaminia* hangs a vast fragment of a ruined wall, commonly known by the name of *Muro Torto*. It is thought to have been part
of

* See those lines of Mr. Pope.

*In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors with plaister, and the walls with dung, &c.*

These humiliating circumstances would not have had the least effects on the mind of a wise and good man, when dying : but they were really painful to a *Nero*.

of that mausoleum of the *Domitii*, in which *Nero* was buried *.

FROM *Muro Torto* they turned into the adjoining entrance of *Villa Burghese*, and alighted.

* * *

WALKING towards the gardens, they found *Crito* sitting at the roots of a tall pine, the *Annals* of *Tacitus* and the *Memorabilia* of *Xenophon* lay by him on the grass: his heart seemed overflowing with the calmest happiness, and his countenance as serene and bright as the morning itself. No wonder, for his mind was then filled with the idea of the dying *Socrates*; with which idea he was comparing the behaviour of *Seneca* when in the same circumstances.

H E

* Such is the horror still remaining at *Rome* of *Nero's* memory, that to this day the neighbourhood of his grave is the place appointed for the interment of all the public malefactors, who die impenitent. Still greater was the terror of this place some ages past; when wailing ghosts were imagined frequently to be seen sitting near it, and the cries and shrieks of hell to be heard from it: (an opinion, which gave occasion to the building of that antient church, which is now standing near it) in these wild opinions there was without doubt a very great mixture of the ignorance and superstition of the times: but a true philosopher may notwithstanding discover in their origin some genuine suggestions of reason and conscience, and the real strong voice of nature.

HE listened with pleasure to his pupil's conjecture, in relation to the situation of that suburban villa on the *Nomentan* road, in which *Seneca* died.

BUT his countenance changed on the other gentlemen's informing him what had been the subject of their conversation at *Serpentara* and *Muro Torto*.

HE rose from the ground; and while accompanying his young friends through the grove to the villa, he joined his reflections to theirs, falling into the same track of thought.

FROM what has been the subject of your thoughts this morning at *Serpentara*, said *Crito*, you may in some degree conceive how terrible the pain of self-condemnation must be, when a guilty wretch finds himself *really* approaching to his last hour.

A BAD conscience is a very tormenting companion even in the times of the greatest health and prosperity*: but its pangs, its confusion, its horrors must be infinitely more terrifying at the *near* prospect

* Both *Tiberius* and *Nero* experienced this truth. — *Tiberius omnium mortalium tristissimus.* — *Nero nunquam sceleris conscientiam ferre potuit: saepe confessus exagitari se maternâ spele; &c.* *Sueton.* c. 34.

prospect of the gates of hell, the powers of darkness, and the bitter pains of eternal death.

MAY we all, deeply and frequently, meditate on this ! But I hope and pray, that none of this company will ever, ever feel it. O my dear friends, bless God that you have *to appearance*, much time of life before you ; that you have strength to employ yourselves in many such works of true faith and love as will not fail to bring you peace at the last.

WOULD to GOD that it was now in my power to shew, or worthily describe to you, the exalted happiness of a *truly christian* death-bed.

WITH a very inferior degree of earnestness I wish I could present to your thoughts a worthy idea even of *Socrates*, during the last days of his life.

WHAT I have now to shew you, is indeed *far inferior to either of these* ; yet it is such, as very well deserves your attention.

SAYING this, *Crito* entered into the villa, and turned on his right-hand into the first apartment, which is adorned with the famous statue of *Seneca*. That statue represents *Seneca*, sinking indeed under

the languor of death, but with eyes so elevated, and with such a gesture of countenance, lips, and hands, as plainly to point out in what manner he passed his last moments *.

Novissimo quoque momento (said Crito) suppeditante eloquentiâ advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit. How much is it to be regretted, that *Tacitus* did not insert in his *Annals* that discourse?

THE reasonings of such a man, at such a time, (that is of one of the wisest in the philosophical world, when at his highest state of wisdom, and at his

* A print of this statue (taken from a drawing which *Rubens* brought with him from *Rome* to *Antwerp*) may be seen in the introduction to *Lipsius's* edition of *Seneca's* works: together with the following description of it. *Imago Senecæ ex Luculleo marmore fabrefacta inter Cardinalis Borgeſii admiranda Antiquitatis monumenta cernitur. Vera eſt effigies in balneo animam jam exhalantis, & in verbis monitiſque aureis deficientis: vividum, acre, igneum aliquid reſert. Manus digitoſque ita exporrectos videt, ut ſapientiæ & conſtantiæ præcepta advocatis ſcriptoribus diſcantem, haud obſcure cum Tacito agnoſcas: a quibus nec vicina mortis cruciatus, ſatis peritè in ipſo vultu ab artifice adumbrati, ſapientem prohibebant. Facies parum formoſa, neſcio quid Africanum præ ſe ferat: buccâ hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus diſſentis: ut hominem Cordubæ (in Boeticæ provinciæ coloniâ, quæ Africæ proximè adjacet) & parentibus Cordubeniſibus natum minimè requiras.*

Sed & corpus longâ valetudine, multo ſtudio, & ex Taciti ſententiâ parvo viſu attenuatum paullo attentius conſidera: quod cum exercitiis durioribus, cultu agri, & ſoſſione vinearum, firmaviſſe ipſum conſet; cutis exhauſto ſucco laxatæ maciem, & laboribus induratæ firmitatem, venis muſculiſque quos labor maximè attollit extantibus, ingenioſè & diligenter ſtatuarius effinxit.

his fullest experience) all that he *then* said, in *that* hour of *sincerity*, on the excellence of virtue, on the *real* emptiness of riches, and on the *real* vanity of all human grandeur, would surely form some of the most proper, and the most striking, lessons of instruction for the minds, not only of the youthful, but of the aged also.

A DEEP silence ensued. The eyes of all the company continued fixed on those of the statue.

THEY took some chairs, and sat down *opposite* to it.

WHILE they were sitting there, and entering as it were into the very thoughts of *Seneca*, *Crito* communicated to them a sheet or two of paper, which contained several extracts, selected by him, from the most sensible and candid authors, (both antient and modern) relative to the *style* and *doctrine* of *Seneca's* writings; as well as to the *history* of *his life and death*. These extracts were digested into such a proper order, as to form a regular kind of *treatise* on the subject.

THE part of this treatise, which related to the *style* of *Seneca*, was very short: that on his *doctrines* seemed compiled with much more attention. It comprehended many proofs of the *remarkable resemblance*,

semblance, which *Seneca's* philosophy bears in *several* of its features to the Christian morality ; and of its *extreme dissimilitude* to it in *others* *.

IN the second part of *Crito's* paper, *Seneca's* *actions* and *character* seemed fairly stated. The whole concluded with the candid observation, that *Seneca's* failings appear to have much abated ; and some of his virtues to have very much increased, as he drew near to his latter end.

* * *

AFTER half an hour passed in reading this paper, and conversing on it, the company rose from their seats ; and, with some respect taking their leave of *Seneca's* statue, begun to give their attention to the other works of sculpture with which that apartment is adorned. From thence they proceeded to the other apartments. More than two hours were employed in surveying the great number of statues, busts, and bas-relieves, with which this country-palace is filled in all its saloons and chambers ; and even covered on its outside on each of its *four* fronts †.

THE

* See *Marfollier's* Life of St. *Francis de Sales*, vol. ii. p. 42.

† The structure itself is quadrangular : the four sides of which are decorated with beautiful antique statues and bas-relieves ;

THE young gentlemen, being very desirous to pass the remainder of the day amidst such a profusion of *vertù*, obtained the *majorduomo*'s consent to it. They dined on some cold provisions (which one of their servants had brought from *Rome*) in a charming grotto, on a table of white marble of one piece, inlaid with brocatello, twenty palms in length, and eight in breadth *.

AFTER dinner *Crito*'s pupil turned the conversation to the history of the person who built this sumptuous villa.

IF I am not misinformed, said he, it was Cardinal *Scipio*: who in his youth lived in a state of poverty and obscurity, deserted by his own family; but was charitably received under the protection and patronage of the *Borghese*. Rising afterwards to a very great fortune, he took the name of his benefactor; and from a principle of gratitude erected this splendid fabric, leaving it to the descendants of that family, to which he was indebted for his own exaltation.

X 3

I AM

relievos; curiously and appositely ranged. But as the prodigious variety renders it impossible to give a particular account of each piece, I shall only mention the most remarkable, which are the bust of *Geta*, *Trajan*, &c. The whole circumference of the building is 734 palms: each being nine inches, or a quarter of a royal *Paris* foot. *Keysser's Travels*.

* See *Keysser's Travels*.

I AM not acquainted with the other parts of the history of this Cardinal : but this part of it, if true, is very amiable.

IT might however be wished for the Cardinal's further honour, that this villa had been somewhat less pompous and rich. If this country-seat had been adorned, not with such royal magnificence, but with proper ecclesiastical simplicity, humility, and neat rural beauty ; the Cardinal's behaviour would certainly have been much more truly laudable. In such a case we might perhaps have compared his gratitude to that of *Aristonous* *.

BUT the afternoon is wearing away. Shall we take a walk round the garden ? The beauty of its plantations is surely at least as pleasing an object, as the sculptured marbles in any of those grand apartments.

THE company, after drinking each a glass of fresh *Aqua Virgine*, now left the grotto, and made the circuit of the gardens, passing through a great variety of flower-beds, fountains, and shades †. They

* See the history of *Aristonous*, generally published with the *Adventures of Telemachus*.

† *Son circuit est de trois milles, ou d'une lieue de France. — On peut dire que cet endroit est délicieux par la beauté de ses plantations,*
de

They sat down at the end of their long walk on a green bank thickly covered with laurel.

It now began to draw near evening, when the conversation returned at length to its *classic* topic.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen, with a short apology, desired *Crito* and his young friends to bestow some of their thoughts on the character of *Thraseas*.

T H R A S E A S.

E L D E S T.

HE was perhaps one of the most humane and best of men, though he lived in an age of the greatest wickedness, and cruelty. Under the reign of a *Nero*, *Thraseas* equalled, if not surpassed, the virtues of a *Cato*.

THE condition of the times indeed would not suffer so wise a man to attempt imitating *Cato* in

X 4

his

de ses bois, & de ses eaux : il est peuplé de chevreuils, des daims, de lievres, & de faisans que l'on y voit en troupes : & par tout l'utile y est mêlé avec l'agréable, avec autant d'ordre, que d'élégance.

Voyages d'Abbé Richard, tome vi. p. 188.

his strong struggles for liberty, and his unyielding resistance to tyranny and usurpation. For all the strength of *Roman* freedom was long ago perished. Its spirit also was (generally speaking) departed. Nothing but the form of the old constitution, its name, and its ceremonies, were now subsisting.

YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

SUCH being the state of public affairs, I should be glad to know what were the peculiar virtues of this *Roman* nobleman. For, if I am not mistaken, *Thraseas* was a person of the highest rank and fortune in his country.

ELDEST.

It might be answered, in the first place, the most exalted and venerable sanctity of private life; and in the second place, the most undaunted and patient expectation of death. In each of these particulars he was even superior to *Cato*.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

I CANNOT help thinking, that *Thraseas*'s behaviour at his death was at least equal to that of his great contemporary *Seneca*. In his life perhaps
Thraseas

Tbraseas far excelled him. If I say wrong in this, I shall gladly receive your's and my tutor's correction.

CRITO.

I COULD wish, that we had more particulars of *Tbraseas*'s life preserved to us in history. But as to *Seneca*, it seems certain (as was observed this morning) that some parts of his life by no means answer the goodness of the rest. Your friend compares *Tbraseas* to *Cato*. Why may we not look upon *Seneca* as a faint image of Tully? *Seneca*'s eloquence was much admired at *Rome*. In saying this, I do not pretend to judge of the literary taste of his age: but whatever may be the merits or defects of his style, his *sentiments* surely are often very noble. Some of *Seneca*'s writings are perhaps the most valuable parts of the moral philosophy of heathen *Rome*.

YET *Seneca*, like his illustrious predecessor in oratory and philosophy, sunk very low, when in adversity; and when in prosperity, grew too fond of riches and honours.

IT must, alas! be acknowledged, that in *Seneca*'s history there are stains, the memory of which has not and cannot be wiped away either by the
many

many great and real virtues of his life, or by his magnanimity at his last hour. These stains he probably incurred by his extreme confidence in his own virtue, (which, as he presumptuously flattered himself, was superior to all temptations whether of prosperity or of adversity) and by his blind, and, I must add, impious pride, in attributing whatever was good in his own breast to himself alone.

I HAVE sometimes been inclined to wish, that the history of *Seneca's* failings had been buried in utter oblivion : but on more serious thoughts, I am convinced, that it is much better as it is. For as they may justly be considered to have been a kind of most humiliating judgments on him ; so also it is certain, that we may deduce from them some very important instructions for ourselves.

BUT let me not repeat what I said this morning concerning *Seneca*. In relation to *Tbraseas's* character, as far as we can perhaps judge from the *short* accounts which we have of his life, it appears much more uniformly noble. I do not at present recollect any marks in it of stoic pride ; (though he was reckoned of that sect of philosophers) nor on the other hand any symptoms of, pride's usual consequence, degeneracy. But I forget, that I am interrupting you. Pray proceed.

I WISH,

I WISH, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that I was in the least worthy to speak on such a character. But, unworthy as I am, permit me to add, that *Thraseas*, though he gained a very high reputation by the virtue which he practised in his *private* life ; (a life which was happily extended to an advanced old age) yet he did not omit to the utmost of his abilities doing those *public* services to his country which the condition of the times would allow.

HE was indeed a senator : but that formerly high office was *then* become of little *real* dignity, and invested with but little power of doing good. Yet in this station, however contracted and shrunk in its powers and privileges, did *Thraseas* frequently display an example of great patriotic fortitude, and of great civil wisdom duly tempered together.

HE formed the plan of several salutary laws : he proposed them to the house, and by the weight of his wisdom and goodness carried them through it. He checked in some degree the oppression and rapine of the governors and *intendants* of several *Roman* provinces. He gave some check also to the tyranny of *Nero* himself.

WHILE

WHILE the majority, and almost the whole body of the *Roman* legislature, behaved as the most abject flatterers, as the most servile instruments of the wickedness of their tyrant, *Thraseas* alone supported the true dignity of a senatorial character*.

WITH the most noble indignation he refused to join in their approbation of their sovereign's crimes. More than once he boldly left his seat, when such matters were under deliberation†; and went out of the senate-house, openly rejoicing, that though death might be the consequence of this bold integrity, yet it was not in the emperor's power to inflict on him by such a punishment *any real hurt*‡.

WITH

* *Offensione manifestâ Principis, suetâ animi magnitudine, non recessit Thraseas a sententiâ.*

† Θρασεας ὡς ἐς τὸ βουλευτηρίου συνεχῶς, ὡς ἔχοντες ἀρεσκομένους τοῖς ψευδομένοις, ἀπηντᾷ.

Dio. lib. lxii.

‡ Τοῖς μὲν οὐ Θρασεας ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ αὖτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέγε. Οὐ μὲν Νερῶν ἀποκτεῖναι με δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὐ.

Dio, lib. lxi.

Somewhat similar was the answer of a celebrated *Englishman*, who on being told by a great Lord of the Court, "It is perilous striving with princes: *Indignatio principis mors est*," replied: Is that all, my Lord? Then, in good faith, the difference between your Grace and me is but this, that I shall die to-day, and you to-morrow.

WITH perseverance in the same sentiments he actually met his death. *Post trucidatos enim tot insignes viros* (I remember exactly *Tacitus's* words) *Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea.*

IT has been frequently exemplified by the histories of many patriots, that integrity naturally produces courage. Ethical writers have also (I apprehend) observed, that where the faculties of the soul are all filled with various kinds of moral excellence, fortitude will generally be found deeply rooted in the center of the heart. Such certainly was the case of *Thraseas*.

BUT let me pause now for some few moments; and desire you to consider the state of this great man's family, to contemplate the virtuous persons who composed it, and who probably owed the greatness of their virtues to their mutual imitation of each other's excellencies.

SURELY, my dear noble friend, there never was a better subject for a family picture. How happy would you be next month, while at *Naples*, if among the antique paintings which are now discovering at *Herculaneum*, a good piece should be found, representing *Thraseas* in conversation with his family and friends on the day of his death.

SUCH

SUCH a subject (if the persons had lived in more modern times) would not have been unworthy of the pencil even of an *Holbein*.

CANNOT you imagine, that such a composition is now before your eyes? The principal figure in it, *Thraseas* himself, *venerabili specie*, the most virtuous character of his age and country. On one hand, his son-in-law, *Helvidius Priscus*; on the other, his grand-son, *Pliny the Younger*; and his friend, the famous *Rusticus Arulenus*. In the back ground, the tomb of his mother, the celebrated *Arria*.

BUT you can design and arrange such a *painting* much better than myself. Let me not any longer expose my ignorance by pretending to talk on that fine art. Let me think only on the *tableau de l'histoire*.

THRASEAS's wife and son-in-law, with *Arulenus* and many of his friends, attended him in his last hour. For while the senate was sitting in anxious deliberation, tho' furrounded with *Nero's* guards, on passing *Thraseas's* sentence of death, (a sentence, which indeed they did not go through, *sine summâ mœstitiâ ac pavore*) that worthy man was conversing with his friends in his garden; probably with great calmness and tranquillity of mind,

mind, though he knew that he should never again behold the vegetative beauties of nature, or the glow of that setting sun.

POSSIBLY the situation of *Thraseas's* garden might not be far distant from this of the *Villa Borgbese*. At least there is no reason, why we should not indulge ourselves in that fanciful imagination. With that idea permit me to read to you some passages which I have extracted from *Tacitus*.

*Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quæstor consulis missus, vesperscente jam die. — Ibi illustrium virorum fæminarumque cætus agebat, maximè intentus Demetrio philosopho *, cum quo inquirebat de naturâ animæ, & dissociatione spiritû corporisque. — Quando Arulenus offerebat se intercessurum senatûs consulto (nam plebis tribunus erat) cohibuit spiritus ejus Thraseas, ne inutilia & sibi exitiosa tentaret — Conjugem tentantem exemplum Arriæ matris sequi, monet retinere vitam (how superior in this to Seneca?) filiæque communi subsidium unicum non adimere — Flentes amicos (nuntiatum enim jam erat de condemnatione) facessere propere hortatur, non pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati.*

Tum

* This *Demetrius* is probably the same person, whose praises we often find recited in *Seneca*. *Demetrius* (says that writer) *vir meo judicio magnus, etiam si maximis comparetur.* — But see the history of his degeneracy from this great character in *Tacitus's* account of the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign.

Tum progressus in porticum, he met the officers, guards, and executioners. He received his death-warrant, *letitiæ propior* ; *quia Helvidium generum suum* (who, he was apprehensive, would have been sentenced to death with him) *Italiâ tantum cognoverat*.

Helvidium dehinc & Demetrium in cubiculum inducit, porrectisque utriusque brachii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, propius vocato quæstore, Libemus inquit Jovi Liberatori : (the very expression of Seneca *.)

Spesta, Juvenis : & omen quidem dii prohibeant, cæterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expedit constantibus exemplis.

Post lentitudine exitûs graves cruciatus affrente, obversis in Demetrium — What a pity it is that the manuscript of Tacitus's Annals should here break off so abruptly ?

PROBABLY the dying words, which *Thraseas* addressed to his philosophic friend *Demetrius*, were not less worthy of attention than the last discourse of *Seneca*.

IN my younger days I have lamented the great chasms and ruins in the august fabrick of *Livy's* history.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 64.

history. But in the present disposition of my mind, if it was in my power to restore entire either the work of *Livy* or of *Tacitus*, I know not which I should prefer : though certainly a very considerable part of the times, described in *Tacitus's* writings, were very inferior in publick virtue to some of the epochas contained in the decads of *Livy*.

THE young gentleman now took out of his pocket a small edition of *Tacitus*, and read to his friends some of that sensible writer's complaints on this head.

HE would probably have added some further reflections on this subject, if the cold dew of the evening had not reminded him that it was proper to think of returning to their lodgings.

THE company rose now from their grassy seat, and walked to that garden gate which opens near the *Porta Pinciana* of *Rome*. In the way, *Crito* made several short, but pertinent observations on the excessive wickedness which prevailed in government during most part of the life of *Thraseas*.

THE young nobleman recollected the names of many contemporary virtuous *Romans* who ended their days in the same manner as this civic hero. He proceeded to some very sensible reflections on the extreme meanness of the *Roman* senate, which

could with such timidity consent to condemn to death men eminent not only for their innocence, but for their merit.

SUCH, said he, was once the case in *England*, even in the trial of peers. Thankful ought we to be, that our lot has fallen in a better age: thankful ought we to be to Providence, that the times of extreme persecution and tyranny happen but seldom in the history of the world. But the mention which was made just now of the name of *Holbein*, necessarily recalls to my memory the history of the *Tudor* family, particularly the reign of *Henry VIII.* Horrid indeed was that despotic æra. For it was not only the house of peers which then suffered in that manner; the same tyranny prevailed over common juries in capital trials; the same tyranny prevailed in acts of attainder passed by the whole legislature. How then did the parliament of *England* appear? Alas! it sadly resembled the miserable senate, which crouched at the footstool of a *Tiberius* or a *Nero*.

IT seems a very considerable consolation however, replied *Crito*, that as the annals of *Nero's* reign contain the history of a *Thraseas*, so also that æra of *English* tyranny was not destitute of many virtuous characters, particularly one (in some respects) very similar: A character similar, and even superior to the most illustrious characters of *Greece*
or

or *Rome* in their noblest excellencies : in virtue, and in patriotism ; in temperance, contempt of wealth, patience, and even love of poverty ; integrity unmoved by any ambitious prospect, or temptation of honour or power ; intrepidity and magnanimity unshaken by all menaces, by all dangers, and even by death itself.

It is almost superfluous to add his name ; a name justly revered by all *Englishmen*, however various in their sentiments either on political or religious subjects : which is the more extraordinary as he suffered on a religious account, and is said, how truly I cannot tell, to have been himself sometimes *cruel* in religious matters. In other respects his behaviour most amiable, most respectable, most pious. He was the *Aristides*, the *Phocion*, the *Fabricius*, the *Thraseas* of England ; Sir *Thomas More*.

I HAVE at my lodgings a *small* collection of some of his works ; particularly of his letters, meditations, and devotions, while in the *Tower*. Permit me to recommend it to you for your perusal to-night after supper.

THE summer before last, I remember, I employed part of an afternoon in a boat on the *Thames*, reading the life of Sir *Thomas More*. I took boat

at *Chelsea*, and was slowly rowed down the river, passing between *Lambeth* and *Westminster Hall*: in Sir *Thomas*'s life frequent mention is made of each of those three places. On landing at the *Tower* gate, I recollected Sir *Thomas*'s last interview there with his daughter. I cast my eye along the side of those antient walls, looking for the grated window of his prison. In walking over *Tower-hill*, I stopt with reverence at the place of execution, from whence his innocent, virtuous, pious soul took her flight to heaven.

CHAP. VII.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*C*RITO about eight o'clock this morning, on entering the young nobleman's apartment, found his three young friends as usual, deeply engaged together at study. He drew a chair, and sat down among them by the table.

THE table was covered with several books of antiquities and history; scattered among which lay many coins of the upper empire; and two or three drawers full of a series of impressions in wax taken from antique seals bearing the royal and most of the *principal* republican heads of *Rome*.

WE have been imagining, said the young nobleman, that there is some kind of resemblance between the beginning and ending of the imperial *Cæſarean* family, and that of the antient *kings* of *Rome*.

JULIUS, the founder of the grandeur of the *Cæsarean* family, seems in his great abilities of mind,

mind, and in the manner and place of his death, as well as in other particulars *, to bear a strong similitude to *Romulus*. *Augustus*, in the mildness and peaceableness of above forty years of his reign, was perhaps in some small degree a faint image of the good *Numa*. The history of the *Cæſarean* family ends in a *Nero*, as that series of monarchs did in a *Tarquin*.

BUT *Nero* far surpassed *Tarquin* in wickedness ; and far, I believe, would you have kindly endeavoured to turn our thoughts from the history of *his* vile life ; if you had not thought, that the memory of those *good* men, who suffered under this emperor's cruel tyranny, justly claimed much respect from us during our prosecution of this part of our course of *Roman* studies.

THEY do indeed deserve much respect, replied *Crito*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now opened *Dio's* works, and turning to the sixtieth book, read two or three lines.

Τπο της Συνεχειας των κακων εις τῆτο τα πραγματα
προεληλυθει, ως' αρετην μηκετ' αλλο μηθεν, η το γενναιως
αποθανειν, νομιζεσθαι.

A NOBLE

* See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxiv.

A NOBLE philosophic fortitude in meeting death in cold blood seems indeed, said he, to have been the turn which the temper of the old *Roman* magnanimity took in the later reigns of the *Cæsarean* family.

THE magnanimity of these suffering heroes, replied *Crito's* pupil, was perhaps at least equally laudable with the military courage of the antient warriors of this country. At least we may easily imagine such to have been the sentiment of a *Seneca*, or of a *Demetrius*.

THEIR fortitude, said *Crito*, was indeed very remarkable: and though their conduct was not totally void of defect; (for some considerable objections may be made to it) yet in general the history of their sufferings may prove to us a very useful branch of study.

THIS was your topic yesterday evening, as you were walking out of the gardens of the *Villa Borghese*. I have since been thinking much on the subject; indeed almost during the whole night: on rising this morning I committed my thoughts to paper.

SAYING this, *Crito* laid on the table a single sheet: the title of which was SUFFERING VIRTUE, and the contents of it as follows.

* * *

FANNIUS, the friend of *Pliny*, wrote an account of the last hours of those many illustrious persons, who suffered under *Nero* *. It is probably much to be lamented that this work is not now extant.

SUCH an history, if elegantly composed, would present to your view, my dear pupil, scenes of afflicted innocence described in a masterly stile; scenes much more real, and consequently much more moving, than any contained in the finest set of tragedies written on the same favourite subject of Suffering Virtue.

NOR would the effects of such an history be less, if we suppose it to have been compiled in a plain, but judicious and faithful manner. The facts contained in it would make us ashamed to complain or be dispirited at any of the little (real or imaginary) adversities which may happen to ourselves; and would in some measure serve to
prepare

* Vid. *Pliny's* Epistle to *Maximus*, book v. ep. 5.

prepare us for supporting the greatest trials, if ever we should be called to them.

PERMIT me, my dear pupil, to express my thoughts in some lines copied from *Seneca's* consolation to his mother *Helvia*, mingled with some expressions, which I remember used by *Tully*.

Fleant & gemant, quorum delicatas mentes longa voluptatum contemplatio enervavit, (quâ cum diffuimus nec apud aculeum ferre possumus) & ad levissimarum injuriarum motus collabuntur. Nos autem (talium virorum exempla spectantes, & inter hæc studia nutritos) pudeat laborem & calamitatem ægrè ferre.

Feramus vulnera fortunæ, velut veterani, sine ululatu, sine vociferatione. Libera sit nostra virtus; inviolabilis, inconcussa; adversus apparatus terribilium rector oculos teneat. Nihil ex vultu mutet.

TULLY (if I understand his words aright) hints to us the best method of acquiring fortitude. *Nam enim tam sui fiduciâ nitendum est, quàm vota pro fortitudine facienda* *.

BUT let not my pen wander too far from its proposed subject. It might perhaps be wished, not only

* *Cicero Tusc. quæst. lib. v. in initio.*

only that *Fannius's* work had been preserved, but the same good fortune had protected those other sensible authors (for such probably there were) whose writings described the sufferings of *Roman* virtue during the *three preceding reigns*, under the malice of *Tiberius*, the madness of *Caligula*, and the frequent stupidity of *Claudius*.

IF those writings had been now extant, they would probably at this instant have been lying on your table, bound up in one large volume, together with the works of *Fannius*.

A dismal volume ! for dismal indeed were the events of the civil history of this great and miserable metropolis, from the middle of *Tiberius's* reign, to the end of that of *Nero* ; *an epocha of about forty years*.

I WISH I had been diligent enough in my late studies of the history of that epocha, to have extracted from the fragments of *Tacitus*, *Dio*, and of some other books, a catalogue of the illustrious sufferers. The length of that catalogue, and the splendor of the names contained in it, would have been very striking and instructive ; even though I had not endeavoured to subjoin to it any particular account either of their several sufferings or characters.

INDEED

INDEED the historians of that dreadful epocha seem to have been fatigued with so long a series of cruelties. *Tacitus* observes *, *a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula & pœnas, dum copiâ fatiscunt, aut, quæ ipsis nimia & mæsta fuerant ne pari tædio lecturos afficerent, verentur.* Yet for the sake of posterity it might have been wished, that *Tacitus* himself had been more particular in the characters of several of the sufferers; whose virtues were in his time generally known and celebrated in the world; but, by his omission of them, are now some partly lost, some totally buried in oblivion.

YET let us not *at present* indulge ourselves idly in lamenting either the omissions of the *Roman* historians, or the wide ravages and destruction of time on their works. We have the less reason to lament them, as we find fully described in *other* histories of the *same* epocha, examples of a much higher merit; examples far more edifying to us, as to the practice of virtue in general; and in a peculiar manner of fortitude; or, to call it by its more proper name, patience.

O MY dear fellow-students, let us for the remainder of this day, lay aside all heathen history—let us lift up our hearts to much higher meditations.

As

* *Annal. lib. vi. c. 7.*

As the heathen annals of *Rome* in this age sufficiently inform us, that *prosperity* is not without many fears and distastes : so the history of the newly-rising Christian Religion shews us in a much stronger light that *virtuous adversity* is not without many comforts and hopes, and felicity of heart, infinitely heightened by the assured prospect of a happy immortality, and the assistance of *DIVINE GRACE*.

In cruce robur mentis, summa virtutis, perfectio sanctitatis, gaudium etiam spiritus, & supernæ suavitatis infusio *.

O MY dear friends, you are all so good and so wise, that I need not make any apology to you in this paper, for my freedom in often communicating to you those thoughts, with which my heart ought indeed *always* to be filled, and from that abundance ready to overflow at all proper opportunities.

BUT on this present occasion, permit me to speak more at large. Surely I ought not *now* to confine my pen to some short hint or faint allusion, pointing (like a bad compass) with much unsteadiness towards some religious object. We are in the studies of this day called to fix our thoughts

* Imitatio Christi, lib. ii. c. 12.

thoughts on such an object, as invariably and intensely as possible.

FOR let us remember, that *the period of forty years*, (of which we were just now speaking) was the epocha of Suffering Virtue; not only in regard of *Rome*, but in respect of the whole world also. It was so, in the greatest degree, κατ' ἐξοχην.

DURING that period was imprisoned and beheaded the most just and holy man; of whose festival this afternoon is the eve; I mean St. *John the Baptist*. Of him the *Word of Truth* itself said, that among those born of women there had not arisen a greater or brighter character. St. *John* was great, not in worldly honours, not in the erroneous judgments and foolish opinions of men; but he was great indeed: Μεγας ην ενωπιου τς ΘΕΟΥ.

HE was a prophet, and more than a prophet: the worthy harbinger of the world's Redeemer.

HIS spotless innocence, his unparalleled spirit of mortification, prayer, and retirement; his zeal and charity were wonderful: but the foundation of all his virtues, the crown of all his greatness, was his sincere humility. The name, which was given

given to him from heaven, justly signified, *full of grace.*

BUT of such a life, so holy and so pure, what were the comforts, what was the conclusion? Little reason has any pious man, either to complain of the sufferings, or to love what are called the good things of this world. With devout resignation let him consider the lot which was appointed to St. *John* the Baptist.

THE life of St. *John* consisted of about two and thirty years, which were *thus* passed.

FROM his infancy to his thirtieth year he lived *in the desert in great austerity.* From the desert he entered on the labours of his public ministry; which continued for about fifteen months. By the tyranny of *Herod* he was then committed to *prison*; where he was during twelve months *confined*, and at last *murdered.* Such was *his* lot.

Beatus vir, qui suffert tentationem; quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ, quam remisit DEUS diligentibus se.*

THE history of St. *John* the Baptist may be considered as the greatest example of Suffering Virtue, which

* Epist. St. *Jacobi*, cap. i. vers. 12,

which the world had ever seen since its creation. But it is as nothing in comparison of that which I am now going to mention. O how ought my wretched hand to tremble in writing these lines?

DURING this same period of forty years, our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST himself ———
But let *me* not dare to proceed on that awful subject. May you (who are much better men) reserve it for your more private and more solemn thoughts.

PROSTRATE in the devotions of your closets. May you duly reflect, that *forasmuch as CHRIST hath suffered for us, we ought also to arm ourselves with the same mind. Let us not think it strange, if we also are called to the same trial. The servant is not greater than his Lord. Let us pray for grace, that we may with a ready mind take up our cross daily, and follow HIM.*

* * *

ON concluding this paper the company separated: each person retired to his lodgings, full of meditation.

At

AT ten o'clock they met again on the terras, where they found the young nobleman's coach waiting for them. They went into it; and by *Crito's* desire told the coachman to drive to *St. Paul's*.

THEY passed along the *Corso*: where they stopt for some time to visit the church of *Santa Maria in viâ latâ*, and its subterranean apartments.

THEY afterwards proceeded through the rest of the city and suburbs: They passed within sight of *Monte Testaccio*, and went out of the *Ostian* gate.

TRAVELLING another mile they arrived at that venerable *Basilica*, which *Constantine* erected to the memory of *St. Paul*; and which in the following century *Theodosius* and *Honorius* considerably enlarged*.

ITS

* At the upper end of this basilica are to be seen the two following verses in antient characters. *Theodosius cepit, perfecit Honorius aulam Doctoris mundi sacratam corpore Pauli.*

Questa chiesa fu fondata da Constantino — la fabbrico in questo luogo in un podere di S. Lucina Madrona Romana: in cui vi era anche il suo Cimiterio di S. S. Martiri, e vi fu sepolto per la prima volta l'Apostolo S. Paolo da Timoteo suo discepolo: il detto cimiterio e sotto questa Chiesa, E vi si cala dalla appresso l'altar maggiore.

Mer. Errante.

See also Dr. *Cave's* Life of *St. Paul*, at the conclusion of the seventh section.

ITS dimensions are very great. Its breadth within the walls exceeds the breadth of the piazza *Navona*; that piazza, which was the antient *Circus Agonalis*, and which is at present the principal square (if such an improper term may be used) of modern *Rome*.

THE most remarkable ornaments of this spacious church are several vast pillars of *Egyptian* granite: and four rows of columns; the inner rows of which are peculiarly stately and beautiful, being of the richest *Grecian* marbles.

ITS antient *Mosaics* are also curious: but its roof and pavement are very disproportionally mean*.

THIS church (being situate at about two miles distance from the parts of *Rome*, which are now in-

VOL. II.

Z

habited)

* The pavement is composed of innumerable fragments of antient tomb-stones put together without order. The roof is plain timber. In *Theodosius's* time the roof was all gilded, as it is described by a contemporary writer; *Prudentius in passione Apostolorum Petri & Pauli*.

Parte aliâ titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,

Quâ stringit amnis cespitem sinistrum.

Regia pompa loci est: Princeps bonus has sacravit arces,

Lusitque magnis ambitum talentis,

Bracteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta

Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.

Subdidit & Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas

Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.

Tum camuros hyalo insigni variè cucurrit arcus,

Sic prata vernis floribus renident.

Corpus Poëtarum Latinorum, p. 1620.

habited) is but little frequented. Solitude and silence generally reign in all its chapels and long isles.

THE company passed here an hour with great satisfaction. The remarkable coolness of the place breathed a very agreeable refreshment over their bodies; while their minds were soothed into tranquillity and quiet meditation by the cooings of the many doves, which were sometimes perched, sometimes flying among the timbers of the roof.

SUCH were the happy dispositions of these three worthy young men, when their tutor led them to that place, in the middle of the church; where part of the mortal remains of *St. Paul* is said to be still reposing. *Crito* here presented them a paper, containing some extracts from the conclusion of *St. Chrysostom's* last homily on *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Romans* *.

As

* Εγώ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμην δια τὸτο φιλω· καίτοι γε αὐτὴν
ἐτερωθεν ἔχων ἐπαινέιν, καὶ ἀπο τῆ μεγέθους, καὶ ἀπο τῆς
ἀρχαιοτήτος, καὶ ἀπο τῆ καλλῆς, καὶ ἀπο τῆ πλεθῆς, καὶ
ἀπο τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ ἀπο τῆ πλεθῆς, καὶ ἀπο τῶν κατορ-
θωμάτων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἀφείς,
δια τὸτο αὐτὴν μακαρίζω, ὅτι (Παυλῷ) καὶ ζῶν αὐτοῖς
ἐγγραφῆς καὶ οὕτως αὐτὲς ἐφίλει, καὶ παρὼν αὐτοῖς διέλεχθη,
καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκεῖ κατέλυσε· διὸ καὶ ἐπίσημῳ ἡ πόλις ἐντενθεν
μαλλόν, ἢ ἀπο τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπαυτῶν — δια ταῦτα θαυμάζω
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δια χρυσοῦ τοῦ πολυῦ, καὶ δια τῆς κιονας, καὶ δια
τὴν ἀλλὴν φαντασίαν. — Τίς μοι νῦν ἔδωκε περιχυθῆναι τῷ
σώματι Παυλοῦ, καὶ προσηλωθῆναι τῷ τάφῳ, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν
δεῖν τῷ σώματι ἐκεῖνος; — τὴν κοινὴν τῷ σώματι, δι' οὗ
ἐλάλει

As soon as the young gentlemen had perused this short paper, *Crito*, in a tone of voice expressive of the greatest humility, yet with a flow of eloquence far superior to his usual stile, indeed in a stile almost worthy of the subject, began to speak on those particulars of *St. Paul's* character, which are proper objects, not only of the admiration, but of the imitation also of every Christian. He spoke of the piety and charity, the humility, zeal, and patience of this holy Apostle.

*O that in these things, said he, we could become imitators of St. Paul, as he was of a far greater person ! **

Z 2

THE

ἐλάλει ἐναντίον βασιλέων, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο, — τυράννης ἐπέσθμισε, τὴν οἰκημένην τῷ ΘΕΩ προσήγαγε. — τὴν κοινὴν τῆς καρδίας, ἣ ὅτω πλάτεια ἢ ὡς καὶ πόλεις ολοκληρῆς δεχέσθαι, καὶ δήμους, καὶ ἔθνη — τὴν καρδίαν ἐκείνην πυρρῆμεν κατ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων, — τὴν κοινὴν ζήσασαν ζῶν, καὶ ταυτὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν. Ζῶ γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοί, φησὶν, ὁ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. — Ἐββλομένη τὴν κοινὴν ἰδεῖν τῶν χειρῶν, τῶν ἐν ἀλυσεί, δι' ὧν ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἐργάσθητο. — τὴν κοινὴν τῶν ποδῶν, τῶν περιδρακοντῶν τὴν οἰκημένην, καὶ μὴ καμνοντῶν, τῶν ἐν ξύλῳ δεδεμένων, ἠνίκαι το δεσμοτηρίον εἰσεῖσε. — Μὴ τοίνυν θαυμάζωμεν αὐτὸν μόνον, — ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμώμεθα, ἵνα καταξιώσθῃμεν καὶ εὐτετέν ἀπελθόντες αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν (ἐν ἡρανοῖς) καὶ τῆς ἀπορρητῆς δόξης μετασχεῖν. ἥς γενοῖτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτύχειν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἸΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, μετ' ὅτῳ τῷ ΠΑΤΡΙ, αἰμα τοῦ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ δόξα, κρατῶ, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τῆς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων Ἀμήν.

* Non aliter IPSE intravit.

THE young gentlemen now recollected several exalted passages in *St. Paul's* writings, as well as several shining parts in the history of his life. They were beginning to speak on these topics, when the conversation was unexpectedly interrupted by the arrival of some *Italian* and *Maltese* gentlemen, with whom this *English* company were acquainted.

THE companies joined for some moments, and then divided. The *Maltese* and the *Italians* remained in the church of *St. Paul*; and the *English* company (being very desirous to continue the conversation on its present topic somewhat longer) proceeded in their coach to the neighbouring valley of *Aquæ Salvæ*.

* * *

THE valley of *Aquæ Salvæ* is a very retired spot. It seems almost uninhabited: no farm-house, no village, nor any other buildings are to be seen here; except three chapels standing in the middle of a green pasture.

IN one of these chapels is an exquisite picture of the crucifixion of *St. Peter*, by *Guido Rheni*: in another are the figures of the twelve Apostles, by the school of *Raphael*.

AFTER

AFTER the young nobleman and the rest of this *English* company had passed a quarter of an hour in admiring these paintings, they sat down on a grassy bank near the porch of the chapel.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to return to the subject, on which you were just now speaking : I mean the history of *St. Paul*.

It is remarkable, that many of his writings bear some relation to *Rome* or to *Italy*.

THE epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by him, when in *Italy* : that to the *Romans* was, as appears by the title addressed to the Christian inhabitants of this city. The epistles to the *Galatians*, and *Ephesians*, to the *Philippians* and the *Colossians*, were all composed by *St. Paul*, while resident in this metropolis. The same may be said of his letter to the beloved, the faithful and charitable *Philemon* ; and of his second epistle to *Timotheus* : which epistle was indeed *St. Paul's* last work ; and may justly (according to *St. Chrysostom*) be considered as his last testament *.

Z 3

I THINK

* See *Tillemont's History of St. Paul*, article 49.

Il n'écrivait pas simplement à *St. Timotée* pour l'appeler auprès de lui, mais pour l'exhorter tout de nouveau à s'acquitter de tous les devoirs d'un Evêque & d'un Docteur, avec un zèle digne de tant de

I THINK we were informed this morning in the *viâ latâ*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the *Acts of the Apostles* were written, or at least finished, at Rome, by St. Luke, under the inspection of St. Paul.

THAT opinion seems indeed very probable, replied Crito, from the book's concluding with the account of St. Paul's being brought prisoner hither from *Judea* *.

How happy would it have been, said Crito's pupil, if St. Luke had lived long enough to have completed the history of St. Paul by the addition of a second book of the *Acts* †?

IN

de graces qu'il avoit receues, & avec un genereux mépris de tous les maux de ce monde, puisque l'esprit du Christianisme n'est point un esprit de crainte, mais de courage & d'amour, & que tous ceux qui veulent vivre avec piété en Jésu Christ, doivent être persécutés, comme il le voyoit par son exemple.

Κακοπαθήσον, ως καλὸν στρατιωτῆς ἸΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,

* Vide St. Hieronymi Catal. Vir. Illustrium, c. 7. and Dr. Cave's Life of St. Luke, p. 181. par. 5. though it is said by some, that the *Acts* of the Apostles were written at *Alexandria* by St. Luke, the year after St. Paul had left Rome to visit the further parts of *Italy*. — Vide Prolegomena Millii, p. xiv.

† *Arabicus vitæ Sti Lucæ apud Kirkpenium scriptor ipsum Romæ, idque non diu post primam S. Pauli e carcere solutionem passum (i. e. martyrio affectum) esse vult; redditâ hâc ratione, quod si diutius vixisset, Actuum Apostolicorum historiam longius protraxisset.*

See Dr. Cave's *Seculum Apostol. Hist. Liter.*

IN relation to the sacred writings, replied *Crito*, there is no doubt, but that every thing has been ordered infinitely for the best: But yet on the other hand it *seems* equally certain, that there must have been very noble materials for a second part of the *Acts* of the Apostles. If that book had, as you observe, been confined to *St. Paul's* history alone, its contents must have been very glorious. Among other things, it would have contained his second journey to *Rome*, and the particulars of his transactions here. For (including both his journeys) *St. Paul* lived a considerable time here teaching *not only the chief of the Jews*, but *many of the Gentiles also*; particularly several *even of Caesar's household*. Here were his glorious chains made manifest in the whole *prætorium*: Here was he brought twice before the face of the lion, that is, *Nero* *. After his long labours in the ministry of the gospel, (labours, in which he persevered during, I think, thirty years, travelling through many different and distant parts of the *Roman empire*) Here at last he finished his course, and accomplished, far more nobly than any of the heathen heroes of this city, his holy warfare.

Z 4

ON

* *Eusebius* imagines, that *St. Paul* calls *Nero* by that name on account of his cruelty: perhaps also, it might be said, on account of that fierce animal's being imagined to be the sovereign king of the beasts. It is remarkable, that the person, who brought king *Agrippa* the news of *Tiberius's* death, made use of the same expression: *ὑλίσσῃ τῇ Εβραίων, τέθυκεν ο Νεῦν.* *Josephi* Antiq. Jud. lib. 18.

In

ON this account I should humbly submit it to the opinion of the proper judges, whether or no those writings of *St. Paul*, which bear relation to this city or country, or at least an extract of the moral parts of them, might not be proposed to travellers, during their residence at *Rome*, as a very useful kind of *Sunday's* private studies.

ALL travellers to *Athens*, in viewing the remains of the *Areopagus*, ought certainly to recollect *St. Paul's* oration there. If we should live to make the tour of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, we shall doubtless at *Athens*, and in many other places, have just occasion to think on *St. Paul's* evangelical labours, sufferings, and imprisonments, as well on the epistles which he wrote to or from several of the cities in those eastern regions. During our residence at *Rome*, why should we not in *like manner* frequently meditate on the parts of *St. Paul's* history; which have, some of them, a very strong relation to this place?

WE have, for a considerable space of time past, been daily studying the imperfect characters of the

In relation to the two trials of *St. Paul*, in the first of which he was acquitted by *Nero*, *Eusebius* makes the following observation.

Εἰς γὰρ τοὶ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἡπρωτόν τῃ Νερῶνι δια-
κρίμειν, ῥαὺν τὴν ὑπὲρ δόγματ' τῷ Παύλῳ δεχέσθαι ἀπολογία.
Προελθοῖτ' δὲ εἰς ἀδεμίτῳς τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τὰ
κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρισθῆναι.

Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. Κβ—κε.

the heathen worthies of this city. Yesterday we were busy in admiring the death of *Seneca* and *Thraseas*. But let us recollect that the holy Apostle and converter of the heathen world laid down his venerable head on the bloody block, *under the tyranny of the same Nero, and in the suburbs of this same city.*

SHALL we be inattentive to *his chains and martyrdom*? Shall we shut our eyes to *his instructions and example*? He in a very high degree, after his Divine Master, was a light to lighten even the most learned part of the Gentiles, (particularly by his being so *ready to preach the gospel not only at Athens, but at Rome also*) and to be the glory of his own people, whether we consider him as an *Israelite*, or as a *Roman citizen*.

FROM a principle not only of justice, but of gratitude, let us endeavour to express here some due respect to his sacred memory. It was for *us Gentiles* that he often bent his knees in prayer; it was for *us* that he laboured most incessantly, and passed through innumerable perils and pains.

WITH these thoughts I waked and left my bed by sun-rise last *Sunday* morning. I then immediately withdrew to my closet: and there (after some short, but I hope not ill-intended devotion) had the great happiness to pass several of the
calm,

calm, serene, and fresh hours of the day in reading *alone and on my knees* that divine epistle, which St. Paul wrote from this city to his most beloved children at *Philippi*.

WHILE I was reading that epistle, my heart often returned to you, my dear friends. Nor can I be sorry for that wandering of my thoughts : For I am sure that *I ought always upon every remembrance of you to pray that your faith and love may abound yet more and more : that ye may be filled with all the fruits of righteousness : that ye may become the children of God. O my beloved brethren, may the God of peace (that peace which passeth all understanding) be for ever with you !*

O MY dear friends, may that heavenly resignation which breathes in this Apostle's writings ; may that fervent piety, which was in him from his youth up constantly accompanied with much learning, and with a conscience void of offence toward God and man ; may his great benevolence to all the nations, through whose countries he ever travelled ; may his abundant love even to his enemies, and unlimited charity to all men, whether *Greeks or Barbarians, Jews or Heathens* ; (though he was persecuted by them all) may the memory of these his virtues have their due effect, a deep and indelible impression, on your minds !

MAY the influence of his writings, and of his example in all its fulness, descend and rest upon you !

FROM my heart I wish you to be happier, than I what dare hope for myself : to be happier, & *in parvo* & *in magno* ; & *in tempore* & *in æternitate* !

MAY you be eternally happy, happy, as long as God himself will be happy !

MAY your employment here at *Rome* be, by God's mercy, of such a kind, as to conduct you to that happiness ! Many centuries, many thousands of years hence, even from the immense depth of a blessed eternity, may your souls look back with pleasure to the recollection of your employment at *Rome* ! May that retrospect be one part of your felicity, even while your faculties shall be otherwise all-enraptured with the extatic vision of the everlasting glory of those *apostles*, *primitive saints*, and *martyrs* ; in some of whose footsteps you are perhaps *in this place* now treading !

O MY dear friends, you cannot on this verdant grass-plot stir one step, where *St. Paul* has not trod. In this place (according to the united testimony, I believe, of all historians) that blessed apostle,

apostle, saint, and martyr, was called to seal the gospel with his blood.

PERHAPS it was *on this bank* that *Timotheus* kneeled in prayer, while his master was led up to the block : *There perhaps* St. Paul stood in his last moments, meditating on that heavenly kingdom to which he was then approaching ; that third heaven, the glories of which he had already seen.

BUT why, dear sirs, do you look thus earnestly on me ? Indeed I am *deeply* (though not *sufficiently*) sensible of my infinite unworthiness *even to pronounce* any of these sacred names. Every time I make mention of them, my conscience cries out aloud to me, how unworthy I am, even of the ground on which I *ever* tread ; or of the air, which *ever* blows in my face. Yet let not my utter unfitness to preach on these or similar subjects, abate in the least your reverence for them.

* * *

IT is perhaps unnecessary, continued *Crito* after some pause, that I should thus persuade you to the study of the works of St. Paul : I have great reason to believe that the goodness of your own hearts has long ago suggested to you in some degree the propriety of such a study, while at Rome.

Soon after our first arrival here, I remember with great pleasure that I came by chance into my pupil's

pupil's apartment one *Sunday* evening, (it was on the 25th of *January*) and found him reading that epistle to *Timotheus*, which I just now mentioned; that epistle, in which the heart of *St. Paul* pours forth the fulness of its tenderness towards this his dearest son.

My pupil read to me the five or six concluding verses of the last chapter. In relation to one of those verses he observed, that nothing more strongly demonstrates the falseness of the outward appearance of things in this life than the fact of such a wretch as *Nero* having sat in judgment on such a saint as *St. Paul*. How did they then appear? *St. Paul* in irons, deserted by his friends *; loaded with

* Εν τη πρώτη με ἀπολογία ὕδεις μοι συμπαραγενέτο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με εγκατελίπον· (μη αυτοῖς λογιθεῖν)

Ὁ δὲ Κύριος μοι παρέστη, καὶ ἐνεδυναμώσεν με, ἵνα δι' ἐμὴ το κηρυγμὰ πληροφορηθῇ, καὶ ἀκούσῃ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐρρυθνῇ ἐκ σωματὸς λεοντῶ.

Καὶ ρυσεται με ὁ Κύριος ἀπο πάντων ἐργῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ σωσεί εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐπερανίον. Ὡς ἡ δόξα εἰς τὰς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ἀσπασαί Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκυλάν, καὶ τοῦ Οὐσιφοῦ οἶκον. Ἐρασμὸς ἐμείνεν ἐν Κορινθῷ. Τροφίμον δὲ ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀδελφόντα.

Σπῆδαςον πρὸ χειμῶνος ἔλθειν. Ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐβυλὸς καὶ Πνδὴς καὶ Λινός, καὶ Κλαυδία, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες!

Ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶ πνευματῶν ὑμῶν. Ἡ χάρις μετ' ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν.

with contempt and insults by his enemies : *Nero* seated on the *Roman* tribunal in all the pomp and glitter of imperial splendor, and surrounded doubtless with crouds of flattering courtiers.

BUT how contrary has been the condition of their souls ever since ? How different will be their meeting at the Last Day ? Let me refer you to what I find noted on this occasion in my memorandum papers, (my pupil gave me the hint of it) the seventeen first verses in the fifth chapter of the Book of *Wisdom* *.

WHILE

Προς Τιμοθεον δευτέρα, της Εφεσίων εκκλησίας πρωτον επισκοπον χειροτονηθεντα εγραφη απο Ρωμης, οτε εκ δευτερης παρες η Παυλ^{ος} τω Καισαρι Νερωνι.

* ΤΟΤΕ ΓΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΗ Ο ΔΙΚΑΙ^{ος}
ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙΨΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ,
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΤΗΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΨΟΥΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ.
ΙΔΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΡΑΧΘΗΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΦΟΒΩ ΔΕΙΩ,
ΚΑΙ ΕΚΣΗΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ.
ΕΡΗΣΙΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΗΝΤΕΣ,
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΓΕΝΟΧΩΡΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤ^{ος} ΓΕΝΑΖΟΥΝΤΕΣ,
ΟΥΤ^{ος} ΗΝ ΟΝ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΥΕΛΩΤΑ.
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗΝ ΟΥΕΙΔΙΣΜΩ.
ΟΙ ΑΦΡΟΝΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΛΟΓΙΣΑΜΕΘΑ ΜΑΝΙΑΝ,
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΤΙΜΟΝ.
ΠΩΣ ΚΑΤΕΛΟΓΙΩΘΗ ΕΝ ΥΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ,
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ Ο ΚΛΗΡ^{ος} ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ;
ΑΡΑ ΕΠΛΑΝΗΘΗΜΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΟΔΟΥ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ,
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΦΩΣ ΉΚΕΛΑΜΨΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ ;

ΚΑΙ

WHILE *Crito* was thus speaking, his pious pupil held down his blushing countenance. I am sure said he, that both on account of my youth, and of

Και ο ἥλιος ἔκ' ἀνέτειλεν ἡμῖν.
 Ἀνομίας ἐνεπληθύνει τριβοῖς καὶ ἀπωλείας,
 Καὶ διωδυσσάμεν ἐρημὸς ἀβάτης,
 Τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν Κυρίῳ ἔκ' ἐγνώμεν.
 Τὶ ὠφελήσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ὑπερηφάνια;
 Καὶ τί πλῆθος μετὰ ἀλαζονείας συμβεβλήται ἡμῶν;
 Παρήλθεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὡς σκία,
 Καὶ ὡς ἀγγεῖα παραπελάσθη.
 Ὡς ναὺς διερχομένη κυμαίνουμένη ὑδάτος,
 Ἡς διαβάσεως ἔκ' ἐστὶν ἰχθυῶν εὐρεῖν,
 Οὐδὲ ἀτράκτου τροπῆς αὐτῆς ἐν κυμασίν·
 Ἡ ὡς ὄρνεις διαπλάντ' αἶρα,
 Οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειται τεκμηρίου πόρεως,
 Πληγὴ δὲ τάρσων μαστιζομένου πνεύματος κήφου
 Καὶ χισσομένου βία ῥοιζῶ,
 Κινημέναν πτερύγων διωδεδῆ,
 Καὶ μετὰ τῆτο ἔκ' εὐρεθῇ σημείου ἐπιβάσεως ἐν αὐτῷ·
 Ἡ ὡς βέλεις βλήθεντ' ἐπὶ σκοποῦ,
 Τμηθεὶς ὁ ἀηρ εὐθεὶς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνελευθῆ,
 Ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι τὴν διόδον αὐτῆς.
 Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς γεννηθέντες ἐξελίπομεν·
 Καὶ ἀρετῆς μὲν ζημίων ὁδὸν ἔχομεν δείξαι,
 Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἡμῶν κατεδάπνηθημεν.
 Ὅτι ἐλπίς ἀσεβὲς ὡς φερόμεντ' ἔχῃς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου,
 Καὶ ὡς παχὺν ὑπὸ λαίλαπτος διωχθεῖσα λεπίη,
 Καὶ ὡς καπνὸς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου διεχυθῇ,
 Καὶ ὡς μνεία καταλυτὴ μονοήμερᾷ παρωδεύσει.
 Δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσι,
 Καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῶν,
 Καὶ ἡ φροντίς αὐτῶν παρὰ Ὑψίστου.

of many other more important considerations, I am really very unworthy to pretend to speak on such subjects. Yet in justice to my two good young friends here, let me have the pleasure of assuring you that *their* hearts overflowed with the highest happiness this morning, while they were listening to your instructions in the basilica of St. Paul. They acknowledged these sentiments to me afterwards, though they were silent when on the spot. Even at present their hearts burn with them.

LET me add that a similar ardour and pleasure filled their minds some few days past, while we were viewing the beautiful round chapel built by *Bramante*, on the *Janiculan* hill, on the very spot where *it is said* that St. Peter was crucified. But pray, dear sir, what may be your opinion as to the truth of that history? If we mistake not, it has been controverted.

WE will talk on that subject, replied *Crito*, if you please, in the afternoon: at present let us finish our morning studies here. For the *Maltese* and *Italian* gentlemen, who were with us at St. Paul's, are following us hither. Their coach, you see, has just

Δια τὸ τοῦτο ληφόνται τὸ βασιλεῖον τῆς εὐπρεπειᾶς,
 Καὶ τὸ διαδῆμα τὸ καλλὸς ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου,
 ὅτι τῇ δεξιᾷ σκεπασεῖ αὐτὸς.
 Καὶ τῷ βραχίονι ὑπερασπίσει αὐτῶν.

just now stopped at the gate-way which leads to these chapels. As devotion is the motive of their coming hither, it will be proper for us to retire.

* * *

THE *English* gentlemen now returned to *Rome*. In their way to their lodgings they visited the church and rich chapels of *S. S. Pudens*, and *Pudentiana*.

THE company dined to-day at the young nobleman's apartments. But they were all remarkably abstemious. After coffee they withdrew, as usual, to sleep : but none of them closed their eyes.

THEY met again at tea. While they were drinking it, the young nobleman desired to look again on the paper, which *Crito* had shewed to them this morning.

WITH deep attention the company considered its contents, particularly its conclusion.

AFTER the re-perusal of this paper, they walked down in silence from the *Colle Pinciano*, or *Hortulano* *, and passing by the church of Cardinal

VOL. II.

A a

Borromeo,

* Its modern name is *Monte di Trinità*.

Borromeo, and the Lying-in Hospital at the magnificent *Ripetta*, (which is on the banks of the *Tiber*) they took boat, and crossed that narrow but rapid stream.

THEY landed on the opposite bank among some gardens: for the whole large space between this part of the *Tiber* and the *Vatican* hill, is at present nothing but gardens, fields and meadows.

It was then that time of the evening, when a rural walk, attended by divine meditations, is most pleasant.

CRITO at length began the conversation, following the train of thought in which he had been engaged at the conclusion of his paper on the subject of *Suffering Virtue*.

THOUGH we are neither able, said he, nor worthy, to meditate on the high and holy subject of our Saviour's Passion, yet let us endeavour to consider and fully contemplate the patience and fortitude of His first followers and disciples: in the same manner, as though we cannot fix our eyes on the sun, even while setting, yet we may view with pleasure the reflection of his light on the face of the moon, and of *that* evening star.

LET

LET us not think the deaths of those holy martyrs and saints to be less instructive lessons to us than their lives. By their deaths Providence as it were demonstrates to us that there must be another life. *When we see wicked men prosper, and saints dye in dungeons, we are far from doubting of Providence; we are strengthened in the assured belief, that God who has stamped the marks of infinite wisdom and goodness on all his works, has appointed a just retribution in the world to come. And faith reveals to us clearly this important secret. We at present see only one end of the chain in the conduct of Providence towards men: many links of it are now concealed from our eyes. Let us wait a little, and we shall see in eternity God's goodness abundantly justified.*

IN the mean time let us follow the examples of those blessed saints; their examples of piety to heaven, and charity to man: Let us thankfully accept every good gift of Providence; and patiently endure every *seeming* evil, which may be appointed for us during this short and transitory state.

CRITO now pausing, permit me, dear Sir, said his pupil, to indulge myself in the recollection of some happy hours, which I enjoyed about two months ago. Happy I call them, because during

their continuance my mind was filled with thoughts congenial to yours.

THE day before you began this course of *Roman* lectures, the last day of *April*, was the festival of the Ascension*. In the afternoon of that day I attended this our noble young friend to see the large picture, which Mr. *Mengs* has designed and executed on that glorious subject†.

To one representation in that painting we shut our eyes. But in relation to the figures of the blessed Virgin, and of the Apostles, who are there described, kneeling and *adoring* our Saviour during his ascent to heaven, on these our eyes were long time fixed.

OUR thoughts entered into the subject, and dwelt on it, and were absorbed in it.

AT the instant of the ascension (said we to each other) how totally must *these* holy persons have disregarded all the labours, pains, and dangers, with which, during the shortness of human life, innocence and sanctity are sometimes tried? Such
were

* See pages xvi. and xxxiv. of the Introduction to the first book.

† This picture was at *Rome* in the year 1761; but was intended to be removed to *Dresden* as soon as the war should be ended.

were *our* thoughts also while viewing that picture of the Ascension.

WE afterwards walked, along this very path, to St. *Peter's*. We found the church full of processions, and resounding with sacred music.

MAY my dear friends in *England*, may my dear friends here pardon me — I then could not forbear wishing myself in heaven.

SCARCE had *Crito's* pupil uttered these last words; when, recollecting himself, and blushing at the sentiments which had suddenly risen from his heart, and had been unawares expressed by his lips, he hastened to turn the discourse to its former topick; the picture of the Ascension by Mr. *Mengs*.

CRITO joined with him in his admiration of most parts of that picture. He at the same time spoke, with some restriction, in favour of church-paintings in general. Provided (said he) those paintings are confined to scriptural subjects, or to authentic and edifying parts of church-history, I cannot but be of opinion that they may frequently serve to awaken some good emotions in the breast of the spectator.

I HAVE indeed of late, said the young nobleman, thought, that to consider those kinds of painting, merely with an *artist's* eye, is too cold a method of studying them.

SOME few weeks ago I took a solitary walk to that chapel on *Monte Calio*, which is enriched with the two famous pictures of *Dominichini* and *Guido*, on the subject of St. *Andrew's* martyrdom. I sat there alone near half an hour; remarking, as well as I was able, the *different* excellencies of each of those masters: *Dominichini's* picture, though it is not perhaps so faultless as that of *Guido*, yet it is said (and, I thought, justly) to contain equal, if not superior beauties.

WHILE I was thus amusing myself, an accident happened which instructed me that I might have been employing my thoughts there in a *much better* manner.

AN elderly woman (a native of *France*, and of a good family there) entered the chapel; her dress was plain, but clean and neat; (it seemed to be the proper garb of charity) her looks remarkably full of benevolence, humility, and devotion. She knelt down immediately before the communion-table, and kissed the pavement. After some few moments she rose, and walked back to that part of the chapel, where (you know) *Dominichini* has
repre-

represented on the wall St. *Andrew* patiently enduring those torments, which usually preceded crucifixion : *flagellis cæsum*. At the sight she burst into tears. Soon however drying those tears, she turned round to the opposite painting of *Guido* : She fixed her eyes on the Apostle there joyfully saluting and welcoming his cross : Her countenance was in that instant covered with a smiling calmness, and with all the tokens of a meek, resigned, and peaceful mind. She drew a chair, and sat down by *Guido's* picture : She took a book of devotion in her hands, and began to peruse it. I was impertinent enough to look over her shoulder : it was a translation of the treatise *de Imitatione* ; and was opened at the 12th chapter of the second book. The words which met my eye were the following : *Il faut pratiquer la patience, si vous voulez jouir de la paix du cœur, & mériter une couronne éternelle.*

I REMEMBER that chapter, replied *Crito* ; it is a very fine one. I am obliged to you for reminding me of it afresh. I will read it over again this evening. I have the book in the original : and indeed quoted some lines from it, in the paper which I laid on your table this morning.

IN the mean time, as you have accidentally mentioned the martyrdom of St. *Andrew*, permit me to observe that St. *Andrew* is described in holy

writ as one of the *first* disciples of the LAMB of GOD.

CRITO now stopt in his walk, and stood still for some moments : he took from his pocket the first volume of the New Testament ; being a small edition of the Gospels and Acts in *Greek*, with the *Latin* translation : he read from it the following lines.

Alterâ die iterum stabat Ioannes, & ex discipulis ejus duo. Et respiciens Jesum ambulantiem, dixit, Ecce AGNUS DEI!

*Et audierunt eum duo discipuli loquentem, & secuti sunt Jesum — Erat autem Andreas, frater Simonis Petri unus ex duobus, qui audierant à Ioanne, & secuti fuerant eum. Invenit hic primum fratrem suum Simonem, & dixit ei, Invenimus MESSIAM *.*

ST. *Andrew*, my dear friends, at our Saviour's call, *readily* left all things to follow him. Both in life and death he proved himself a worthy teacher of the doctrine of the Cross.

THE death of the cross was appointed for St. *Andrew* : and indeed it is highly suitable to his character

* Evang. St. *Johannis*, chap. i.

character to think, that he received his crown with ardent joy.

HE preached the gospel in Greece, and there laid down his life for it : he confirmed the faith by his blood shed on the cross at *Patræ in Achaia*.

LET us here pause a little, and reflect on that circumstance. — Is it not probable that St. *Andrew*, in the hour of his martyrdom, devoutly recollected those words, which our Saviour had spoken to him and to St. *Philip*, on a subject very similar? It was at that remarkable time, when some *Grecians* expressed their desire of seeing JESUS.

CRITO now turned to the 12th chapter of St. *John*; and desired leave to read the following passage.

Erant autem quidam Gentiles (Ελληνες) ex his qui ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo. Hi ergo accesserunt ad Philippum, qui erat a Bethsaidâ Galileæ, & rogabant eum, dicentes ; Domine, volumus IESUM videre. Venit Philippus & dicit Andreæ ; Andreas rursum & Philippus dixerunt Iesu.

Iesus autem respondit eis, dicens : Venit hora, ut clarificetur Filius Hominis. Amen, amen, dico vobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit

fueris ipsum solum manet : si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert. Qui amat animam suam, perdet eam ; & qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam custodit eam. Si quis mihi ministrat, me sequator ; & ubi sum ego, illic & minister meus erit. Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus. Nunc anima mea turbata est, & quid dicam ? Pater, salvifica me ex hæc horâ. Sed propterea veni in hanc horam. Pater, clarifica nomen tuum.

Vcnit ergo vox de cælo : Et clarificavi, & iterum clarificabo. Turba ergo quæ stabat & audierat dicebat tonitruum esse factum. Alii dicebant, Angelus ei locutus est.

Respondit Iesus, & dixit : Non propter me hæc vox venit, sed propter vos. Nunc iudicium est mundi ; nunc principis hujus mundi ejicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terrâ, omnia traham ad meipsum. (Hoc autem dicebat, significans quâ morte esset moriturus.)

* * *

It seems (continued *Crito* closing the book) to be very observable, that as our Saviour himself, to the utter confusion of human pride, patiently
submitted

submitted to the most ignominious kind of death, so likewise did all his holy apostles.

THE holy apostles and friends of CHRIST were treated during their lives as malefactors. They were imprisoned : they were banished : they wandered about, being destitute ; afflicted ; tormented ; hated ; despised : *they*, of whom the world was not worthy. After several years thus passed, they (like the prophets and martyrs of the Old Testament) were tortured, not accepting deliverance : they were slain with the sword.

OF what then ought a common Christian to complain ?

I MADE yesterday some extracts from the Imitation, mingling them with some words of my own, which, if you will give me leave, I will now read to you. They are on this slip of paper.

O ingrata anima mea, cessa tandem conqueri ; considerata CHRISTI & sanctorum ejus amicorum passionem.

CHRISTUS pati voluit, & crucifigi : Christiani autem hodierni, otium sibi quærunt, & requiem & divitias & longæ vitæ commoda. Such were not the thoughts of the glorious company of the apostles ;

files ; such were not *their* expectations. *Quid hîc circumspicis, anima mea ? Non est hîc locus requietionis tuæ. In cælestibus debet esse tua habitatio in æternum.*

O Deus meus, verte mihi in amaritudinem omnem consolationem carnalem, ab æternorum amore me abstrahentem. Non me decipiat mundus, & brevis gloria ejus : da mihi fortitudinem resistendi, patientiam tolerandi, constantiam perseverandi : da pro omnibus mundi consolationibus suavissimam SPIRITÛS TUI unctionem.

MUCH instruction might be reaped from a recollection of the catalogue of the apostles, joined to a serious consideration of what was *their* lot in this world.

ACCORDING to the accounts, which are most generally received,

1. St. *Peter* was crucified.
2. St. *Andrew* was crucified.
3. St. *Bartholomew* was flead alive.
4. St. *John* was banished, after having been cast in a caldron of boiling oil.
- 5, 6. Two St. *James*. One was beheaded : of the other the brains were dashed out.
7. St. *Philip* was stoned.
8. St. *Thomas* stabbed.
9. St,

9. St. *Matthew* beheaded.
10. St. *Simon* crucified.
11. St. *Jude* shot with arrows.
12. St. *Matthias* stabbed.
13. St. *Paul* beheaded.

ΠΑΡΕΤΕ. Ἰδὲ ΕΓΩ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἀρνὸς ἐν
μέσῳ λύκων.

I WISH, said the young nobleman, that you had favoured us with some of these sentiments this morning, while we were admiring the figures of the apostles painted by the school of *Raphael*. But pray proceed.

AMONG these blessed Apostles, replied *Crito*, the first who gained the crown of martyrdom was St. *James*, brother of St. *John*. In the beginning of our Saviour's ministry St. *James* had readily left every thing to obey the divine call: after our Saviour's ascension he followed his master's path to heaven doubtless with equal readiness. Enabled, not by the strength of his own resolutions, but by the strength of grace, St. *James* joyfully accepted his Lord's cup of suffering; and was the first of the Apostles, who drank of it.

I REMEMBER, said the young nobleman, that in the picture of the Ascension (of which your pupil

pil was just now speaking) there was something very peculiarly striking in the figure and countenance of St. *James*. But pray inform me, where was it that St. *James* suffered, and at what time.

He suffered at *Jerusalem*, replied *Crito*, a little before *Easter*; in the eleventh or twelfth year, after he had attended his Saviour's agony there in the garden of *Gethsemani*.

CLAUDIUS was then emperor of *Rome*, and *Herod Agrippa* king of *Judaea*. For it was *Herod Agrippa* who slew St. *James* with the sword; and, seeing that it pleased the *Jews*; proceeded to seize *Peter* also, intending doubtless the same cruelty to him.

YOUR mentioning the name of St. *Peter* reminds me, said *Crito's* pupil, that while we were this morning in the valley of *Aquæ Salvæ*, you were asked a question relative to *his* history; which you gave us reason to hope you would resolve this afternoon. I could wish you would now resolve our doubts on that subject.

PERMIT me, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, to second that motion. We are walking at present in direct and full view of his magnificent basilica; and consequently our thoughts in this conversation naturally point to him.

IN regard of *St. Peter*, replied *Crito*, there are two particular difficulties which discourage me from attempting to speak on the subject of his life and character.

FIRST, my own great demerits. I am not worthy to talk on the virtues of any one the most imperfect among good men : Much less ought I to presume to attempt the description of that eminent sanctity, that strong faith, that ardent love of God, and zeal for the salvation of human souls, which inspired the holy person, who is always named the *first* in the catalogue of the apostles.

THE other difficulty rises from the circumstance of *St. Peter's* residence in this city having been much controverted in modern ages.

I MUST acknowledge indeed to my shame, that I have not as yet sufficiently applied myself to that important branch of the science of divinity, ecclesiastic history, so as to be able to give you any full information on this point, and at the same time to do what is perhaps proper justice to the arguments of the writers on both sides of the question.

I MIGHT

I MIGHT add, that controversy (however, on some occasions, highly useful and necessary) is in general not an agreeable employment. Its discussions are difficult; and the temper which it sometimes produces is not that of a Christian heart. Happy is the ecclesiastic who is engaged in the other occupations of a religious life, in the smoother path of other studies, in the serene felicities of devotion, and in the celestial employments of that universal charity, with which all the true servants of God are unextinguishably inflamed: *loving one another with a pure heart fervently, and laying aside all malice and all guile, and hypocrisies and envies, and all evil speakings.*

YET on the other hand surely the exalted subjects of this day's conversation ought to impart a generous warmth to our hearts; we ought neither to be ashamed, nor afraid to confess our opinion, as to that controverted point.

MOST probably it is very true, that St. Peter passed a considerable part of his life in this city: and on this account we ought, during our happy residence here, frequently to meditate on his virtues, and endeavour to pay due honour and veneration to his blessed memory.

WE

WE justly reverence *St. Paul*, as the apostle of the *Gentile* world : but let us not forget that *St. Peter* also highly merits the same title *.

Is it your opinion, said *Crito's* pupil, that *St. Peter* was really crucified at *Rome* ?

IN relation to the manner and place of *St. Peter's* death, my opinion is this, replied *Crito*.

THAT *St. Peter* was crucified, may be implied from the gospel of *St. John*. He glorified God, following his holy Lord even in the manner of his death †.

THAT he suffered at *Rome*, all the antient writers are said to be unanimous ; and as to the moderns, many learned Protestants agree with the *Roman* Catholicks in this point ‡.

BOTH these points seem indeed sufficiently clear : but as to the exact time of his sufferings, and the

VOL. II. B b exact

* See the tenth and eleventh chapter of the *Acts*, and the 7th verse of the fifteenth chapter.

† See chap. xxi. 15.

‡ See *Dr. Pearson's* posthumous works ; *Dr. Cave's* Life of *St. Peter*, and *Literary History*, *Sac. Apost.* p. 5 and 7. and also *Poof's* Synopsis on the 18th verse of the 21st chapter of *St. John's* Gospel.

exact spot in *Rome* where he breathed out his pious soul; I believe there may be some real reason to doubt.

IN relation to his interment, it was probably *here*, where his splendid church now appears. The palaces of the *Cæsars* are in ruins, but the tomb of the fisherman is in the highest glory.

THE tradition, that St. *Peter* was really buried *here*, is greatly corroborated by the testimony of *Caius*, who lived about fifteen hundred and fifty years ago *; and by the indubitable fact of the emperor *Constantine's* having built *here* in honour of St. *Peter* a basilica which was very stately, though I suppose not comparable to the present most magnificent structure.

THE basilica of St. *Peter*, said the young nobleman, which was erected by *Constantine*, seems (from the plans of it published by *Bonanni*) to have been

* Περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερά ὀστέματα κατατίθεται, φησὶν, Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τροπαῖα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θέλῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑατικαίου, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν αἰνῶν εὐρησεῖς τὰ τροπαῖα τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσάμενων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. β. xi.

See also *Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 67. Cave's Appendix to St. Peter's Life, p. 47.*

been very similar to the basilica of *St. Paul*, which we visited this morning.

THIS observation of the young nobleman recalled several pious ideas to *Crito's* mind. He recollected some of those awful sentiments which had filled his heart in the morning, while standing near the stairs which lead down to *St. Paul's* grave.

How striking, said he, is that passage in *St. Chrysostom's* description of the last day? Εκειθεν αρπαγησεται Παυλ^{ος}, εκειθεν Πητρ^{ος}. Εννοησατε, καὶ Φριξατε, οἱον οψεται Θεαμα Ρωμης, των Παυλου εξαίφνης αρισταμενου απο της Σκηνης εκεινης μετα Πητρου, καὶ αιρομενου, εις την απαντησιν το ΚΥΡΙΟΥ*.

THE idea of the glorious resurrection of *St. Peter*, and of *St. Paul*, seems to have been strongly impressed on *St. Chrysostom's* mind. For in another part of his works †, “What, says he, was more glorious than *Paul*; what more illustrious than *Peter*, who travelled over the earth sowing every where the seeds of religion?—But if in this world they were endued with such power, think what

B b 2

they

* See the conclusion of the last Homily on the Epistle to the *Romans*,

† Expositio in Psalmum cix.

they will be on that day, when they shall have received bodies incorruptible, immortal, and far exceeding all earthly glory; fashioned like the glorious body of Christ, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself*.

* * *

YOU favoured us this morning, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, with a catalogue of the sacred writings, which were composed by *St. Paul* while at *Rome*. Give me leave to ask you, whether *St. Peter* wrote any thing during his residence here. Did he sow the seeds of religion here with his words and example only, or was his pen also employed in those glorious labours?

IT is said, replied *Crito*, and I believe truly, that as *St. Paul* assisted *St. Luke* in writing the history of the Acts of the Apostles, so also *St. Peter*, while at *Rome*, assisted *St. Mark* in the composition and revisal of his gospel†. From whence it

* See *St. Paul's* Epistle to the *Philippians*, chap. iii. 21.

† *St. Mark* accompanied *St. Peter* in his apostolical progress, preached the gospel in *Italy* and at *Rome*, where at the request of the Christians of those parts he composed his gospel.
—The converts at *Rome* not content to have heard *St. Peter* preach,

it might be that some antients have attributed that gospel to *St. Peter* himself. He certainly had a very considerable share in the work. It has been observed (as an instance of *St. Peter's* great humility) that in this gospel no mention is made of the high commendations which our Saviour gave to that apostle on his confessing him to be the Son of God; but the history of his shameful lapse and denial of his master is related at full length, with some particular aggravations, of which the other Evangelists take no notice*.

BUT the only writings, to which *St. Peter's* name is affixed, are his Epistles.

IN relation to the two Epistles of *St. Peter*, I could heartily wish, that you would allot some few hours next Saturday or Sunday for the diligent perusal of them. The first of those Epistles is, you know, *generally* understood to have been sent
by

preach, pressed *St. Mark* his disciple, that he would commit to writing an historical account of what he delivered to them: which he performed with no less faithfulness than brevity, all which *St. Peter* perused, ratified with his authority, and commanded to be publicly read in their religious assemblies.

See *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Mark*, folio edition, p. 174. and p. 176. and also his *Literary History*, v. i. p. 24. *St. Mark* was martyred at *Alexandria*, in the 14th year of *Nero*.

* See *Euseb. Dem. lib. iii. c. 5. p. 121, 122.*

by St. *Peter* from *this* city *. He is said to have written the second also here while in prison, *some little time before his putting off his mortal tabernacle.*

How pleasing will it be to you, in comparing that epistle with one of St. *Paul's*, to consider both these great apostles looking forward with joy to their approaching crowns of everlasting glory †?

If indeed I might presume (unworthy as I am) to recommend to you any method of preparing your minds for duly meditating on St. *Peter's* martyrdom, it should be this.

DILIGENTLY study his two epistles, endeavour to enter into the stream of thought, and into the divine spirit itself of the writer.

WHEN

* See *Grotius's* note on the 13th chapter of this Epistle. *De Babylone dissident veteres & novi interpretes. — Veteres Romanam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit; novi Babylonem in Chaldæa. Ego veteribus assentior.*

See also Dr. *Hammond's* note on the same passage, together with his prefaces to both of the Epistles of St. *Peter*.

See also *Mill's* Prolegomena to his *Greek Testament*, p. vii.

See also the most primitive testimony of *Papias*, ap. *Euseb.* lib. ii. c. 15. p. 53.

† The reader is desired to compare part of the second Epistle of St. *Peter*, beginning at the 14th verse of the first chapter, with part of St. *Paul's* second Epistle to *Timotheus*, beginning at verse 6, chap. iv.

WHEN you have fully imbibed his sentiments, put your *Greek Testament* in your pocket, and take a walk to this church, (let it be an hour about noon, when it is least frequented) sit down on one of the benches which stand usually behind St. *Peter's* grave: meditate then on what you have been reading; re-peruse the most affecting passages; and pray to God of his infinite mercy to inspire into your breasts thoughts and resolutions worthy of the occasion and place! pray earnestly! for it will not be a little blessing.

* * *

THE company were now arrived at the great *Piazza* of the *Vatican*: they advanced to its center, to the basis of the famous *Egyptian* obelisk.

AFTER some short conversation here on other subjects, *Crito* resumed his former solemn discourse.

WITHIN some few months of the martyrdom of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, the first general prosecution broke out. It is one of the honours of the Christian church, that its first persecutor was a *Nero*.

GREAT

GREAT numbers of the friends and disciples of the apostles were then cruelly tormented and murdered; as is described in the 15th book of the *Annals of Tacitus*.

Pereuntibus Christianis addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi; aut flammandi; Et ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*

AMONG the fragments of *Seneca*, said *Crito's* pupil, there is a passage which seems applicable to the martyrdoms of *St. Peter*, and of these his worthy disciples and friends †. It is not in the least improbable, that *Seneca* might be a spectator of their sufferings. And from his deep silence in relation

* *Stantibus ad palum destinatis, unco (ne motatione capitis picem ardentem declinarent) gutturi suffixo, e laminâ ardente pix aut unguen in caput liquefiebat, ita ut rivi pinguedinis humanæ per arenam amphitheatrici sulcum facerent. Ad hoc tormentum alludit Juvénalis, sat. i. v. 154.*

*Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam.*

Vid. *Hauffii Annotat.* in *Tacitum*.

† See *Lipfius's* Collection of those fragments, numb. 25,

Hic est ille homo honestus, non apice purpuræ, non liætorum insignis ministerio, sed nulla se minor (query, if this is not a false reading) qui cum mortem in vicino videt, non sic perturbatur, tanquam rem novam viderit, qui sive toto corpore tormenta patienda sunt, sive flamma ore recipienda est, sive extendendæ per patibulum manus, non quærit quid patiatur, sed quàm bene.

relation to their doctrines, it is very much to be suspected, that he was far from condemning them in his heart, though he was not honest enough to declare openly his approbation of them. But I interrupt you ; pray proceed.

YOU are now, my dear friends, replied *Crito*, standing on the very spot, where these apostolic Christians were martyred. On that point I believe all historians and antiquarians agree.

INDEED the fact seems to be past dispute. For most part of the southern side of this great church stands on the ruins of the circus of *Caligula* and *Nero* *.

IN this part of the *Vatican* valley were the *Domitian* gardens. This obelisk was brought from

VOL. II.

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Egypt

* See *Bonanni's* description of the *Vatican* church p. 24. and particularly the plan of it intitled, *Tabula 6 Ichnographia Basilicæ antiquæ & novæ simul cum Circo Neroniano*.

See also *Abbate Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 106.

Fu in questa valle il Circo di Nerone. Fu questo fabbricato da Caligola, poi accresciuto o adornato da Nerone. Nel mezzo vi era l'Obelisco, che ora si vede nel centro della gran Piazza Vaticana. Crollò a terra ne i tempi barbari, senza però alcuna lesione del marmo, e fino a tempi di Sisto V. giacque prostrato nel suo antico sito vicino alla Sagrestia della Basilica Vaticana, fino che nel 1580 fu trasportato nella Piazza.

See also *Severano's history of the seven churches*, pag. 92. *I primi martiri Christiani furono uccisi in questo circo, come pare lo accenni Tacito.* — The 24th of June is the day of their memorial.

Egypt by *Caligula*, and placed by him (not far distant from the spot on which it now stands) on the *Spina* of his circus. In that circus *Nero* afterwards *quæsitissimis pænis affecit Christianos. Hortos enim suos ei spectaculo obtulerat, & circense ludicrum edebat.*

It seems somewhat strange, said the young nobleman, that among all the paintings and sculptures in this most magnificent church, there are none which refer to the celebrated and certain martyrdom of so many primitive Christians on this very spot. What pity is it, that *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* were not employed here on that subject?

I HEARTILY wish they had been, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Even our good tutor, I believe, will join in that wish. Yesterday, when he was admiring the statue of *Seneca*, he expressed great concern that *Tacitus* had not preserved the last discourse of that philosopher. If he had now before his eyes some of the labours of *Michael Angelo's* chissel, or *Raphael's* pencil, descriptive of these martyrdoms, would he not much more earnestly have contemplated them, and much more strongly expressed his desire that some worthy historian had faithfully recorded the dying words
of

of these primitive martyrs, and their behaviour in general at their last hour?

TACITUS, replied *Crito*, prejudiced as he was against them in general, yet strongly asserts their innocence as to the particular crime for which they suffered.

THE spectators also of this infernal cruelty, cruel as they were themselves, and prejudiced in the same manner, yet before the horrid long execution was over, felt their hatred to these sufferers turned to pity and compassion.

Miseratio oriebatur, says *Tacitus*. This softer sentiment seems to have first flowed from the natural sympathy and irresistible meltings of the human heart on such dreadful occasions. But it was certainly greatly augmented by the opinion generally and justly entertained of the *innocence* of the sufferers. It was increased probably still much more by the *moving behaviour*, gentle words, and celestial aspirations of these blessed primitive saints and proto-martyrs of *Rome*, who around this very obelisk poured forth their souls unto death in the midst of the heaviest insults, calumnies and torments; full of patience, full of peace, full of the hopes of immortality.

MAY we not probably, very justly apply to them the description of the death of the blessed proto-martyr in *Jerusalem*? And in what better manner can we conclude this day's meditation, than by recollecting the holy behaviour, both in life and death, of him who had the honour of being the first leader of all the noble army of Christian martyrs? St. *Stephen* abounded with all the primitive virtues; he was remarkable for his faith, for his zeal in the cause of religion, and for his care of the poor. St. *Stephen*, in his last hour, being full of the HOLY GHOST, looked up stedfastly unto heaven, and saw the heavens opened, and the glory of GOD, and JESUS the Son of Man, standing on the right hand of GOD. On St. *Stephen* the people ran with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and slew him, calling upon GOD, and saying LORD JESUS! receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, LORD, lay not this sin to their charge; and when he had said this, he fell asleep.

Ἀμην. Ἀμην. λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι κλαυσετε καὶ θρηνήσατε ὑμεῖς· ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται. Ὑμεῖς δὲ λυπηθήσεσθε, ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται.

Amen! Lord Jesus! Amen! So be it! Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.

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